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ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

Volume II

APRIL, 1920

Number 4

CONTENTS

Father Coppens' Recollections of
Notable Pioneers

Rev. Charles Coppens, S. J.

The Northwestern Part of the Diocese of St. Louis
Under Bishop Rosati

Rev. John Rothensteiner

Marquette University in the Making

Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J.

The Franciscans in Southern Illinois

Rev. Silas Barth, O. F. M.

The Irish in Chicago

Joseph J. Thompson

Two Hundredth Anniversary of Fort
Chartres

Gertrude Corrigan

Editorial Comment

PUBLISHED BY THE ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY
617 ASHLAND BLOCK, CHICAGO, ILL.

Issued Quarterly

Annual Subscription, \$2.00 Single Numbers, 50 cents
Foreign Countries, \$2.50

Entered as second class matter July 26, 1918, at the post office at Chicago, Ill.,
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CONTENTS

FATHER COPPENS' RECOLLECTIONS OF NOTABLE PIONEERS	
	<i>Rev. Charles Coppens, S. J.</i> 389
THE NORTHWESTERN PART OF THE DIOCESE OF ST. LOUIS UNDER BISHOP ROSATI	<i>Rev. John Rothensteiner</i> 396
MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY IN THE MAKING	
	<i>Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J.</i> 417
THE FRANCISCANS IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS	
	<i>Rev. Silas Barth, O. F. M.</i> 447
THE IRISH IN CHICAGO	
	<i>Joseph J. Thompson</i> 453
TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF FORT CHARTRES	
	<i>Gertrude Corrigan</i> 474
EDITORIAL COMMENT	489

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Illinois Catholic Historical Society

617 ASHLAND BLOCK, CHICAGO

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APPROBATION

The Archbishop and Bishops of the Province have indorsed the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY and its work, and proffered their assistance.

Following are extracts from their letters:

I give hearty approval of the establishment of a Catholic Historical Society that will not be confined to the limits of this Diocese only, but will embrace the entire province and State of Illinois, and to further encourage this movement, I desire you to enroll me among the life members of the Society.

Sincerely yours in Christ,

GEORGE W. MUNDELEIN, *Archbishop.*

The Bishop desired me to write you that he is pleased to accept the Honorary Presidency, and cordially approves of the good work undertaken by the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Faithfully yours in Christ,

M. A. TARRANT,
Secy. to the Bishop of Alton.

I am glad to have your letter about the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY, and will gladly serve in the capacity suggested. This will be a depository and will fill a much felt need.

P. J. MULDOON, *Bishop of Rockford.*

The sole aim of the Society, namely, 'To make known the glories of the Church,' should certainly appeal to all our Catholic people. I confidently hope that the Society may meet with the generous encouragement it richly deserves from everyone under my jurisdiction.

EDMUND M. DUNNE, *Bishop of Peoria.*

I wish to assure you that I am willing to give you every possible assistance in the good work you have undertaken, and in compliance with your request, I am likewise willing to be one of your Honorary Presidents.

Wishing God's blessing, I remain,

HENRY ALTHOFF, *Bishop of Belleville.*

Illinois Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME II

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FATHER COPPENS' RECOLLECTIONS OF NOTABLE PIONEERS¹

I have read with interest the early numbers of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, and I wish to show my appreciation of this excellent publication by complying with your request to contribute to its pages some of my recollections regarding several historical personages with whom I was acquainted about the middle of the last century and who were at times identified with Illinois history.

Of these the one I knew most intimately was the great American missionary, Father Peter J. De Smet, S. J., with whom I came to America as a young novice of the Society of Jesus, in December, 1853. But so much has already been published about his work and his remarkable career that all this is familiar knowledge to your readers. An interesting account of Father De Smet was lately published by P. J. Kenedy and Sons, in an English translation of the French, *Vie du Père De Smet*,² originally in Belgium by Rev. E. Laveille, S. J. When I had the honor of travelling with him, such was his renown both in the United States and in various countries of Europe that few men at the time were more generally known and more admired than he; such too was his venerable aspect and such the charm of his conversation that he was habitually the center of attraction on the deck of the steamer that carried us.

¹ Father Charles Coppens was born in Belgium, May 24, 1835, entered the Society of Jesus, September 21, 1853, and was ordained in 1864. He is still actively engaged in St. Ignatius College, Chicago.

² The standard life of Father De Smet is in four volumes written by two non-Catholic Army Officers: Chittenden and Richardson. (N. Y. 1905).

Our ship, the "Humboldt," was wrecked as we were approaching the shores of Nova Scotia. At dawn on December 6, 1853, it struck one of the rocks, salled "The Three Sisters," smashing a large hole in its keel, throwing the fire from its furnace upon the surrounding wood, and kindling it at once, so that we were warned by the rising smoke that we were in danger of perishing by fire as well as by water. There was a rush, for the life boats; but the captain maintained strict discipline. Sending one boat to ask for help at Halifax, he directed his vessel to run upon the shelving beach, about ten miles away, where the ship was totally destroyed, but the passengers all got safely into fishermen's boats that soon gathered around us, till a salvage-steamer came to take us to the harbor of Halifax. Fortunately all our baggage was recovered.

We had the honor of having as our travelling companion, the Rt. Rev. Bishop J. B. Miede, who had in 1852 been made Vicar Apostolic with his see at Leavenworth, Kansas, and who was then returning from his visit *ad limina* to Rome. He was a man of majestic appearance, but as unassuming as if he had been a simple priest. He had been raised to the episcopal dignity much against his will. Some years later he petitioned Rome to let him resign his office, and re-enter the Society of Jesus; but as he had contracted a heavy debt by building a cathedral he found it necessary to travel to Latin America, for the purpose of collecting money to defray the debt. As soon as he had succeeded in doing so, he joyously returned to his first vocation. He was the first superior of the Jesuit community at Detroit, Michigan, and died in 1884, while acting as spiritual director of the young Jesuits at Woodstock College, Maryland.

The band of intended missionaries that Father De Smet was bringing to America when we were wrecked near Halifax comprised seven novices, four lay brothers and two scholastics. One of these became in the course of time a distinguished missionary among the Indians; this was Father Grassi, an Italian, who realized in a long career of strenuous labors the high expectations aroused in us all by his piety. One of the novices of our band, Joseph Zealand became in the course of time President of the St. Louis University, and later still, came to Chicago as President of St. Ignatius College. Another was John Schoensetters, later so well known in Chicago as Father Setters. From Halifax we travelled on steamboat to Boston, where we received a hospitable welcome from the Jesuit fathers of St. Mary's Church, who managed to lodge our entire band

in their narrow quarters, and held a solemn service in their church in thanksgiving for our escape from a watery grave. I still feel a warm gratitude for the kindness manifested on that occasion for us by the reverend pastors and their entire parish. From Boston we travelled by rail to Cincinnati where good Father Isidore Boudreaux welcomed us heartily at St. Xavier College. This city, or Louisville, (I have forgotten which) was the farthest limit of railroad travel westward at the time.

A steamboat took us thence down the Ohio river to Cairo, and thence up the Mississippi to St. Louis. That manner of travelling had its own dangers, owing to the snags in the river bed which caused the wreck of many a steamboat. I recall that one night an alarm was raised, and good Father De Smet, ever solicitous for our welfare, gathered us all around him in the cabin to keep us in readiness for a threatened accident, of which I was too ignorant at the time to understand the nature.

We eagerly anticipated our arrival at St. Louis for the eve or the morning of Christmas day; but we were disappointed. We passed that gracious festival on a sandbar, and reached St. Louis only on the following morning. Of course, all was done by the fathers of St. Louis University to betoken the joy they felt at our arrival. But some of our number were a little disappointed, because we saw no signs of Indians, for whose conversion we had come so far. All was so desperately civilized. In Boston, when I saw a wagon drawn by several yoke of oxen, I took them for buffalo and was delighted. Now at last we hoped to get Indian ponies to ride to the terminus of our travels, the novitiate at Florissant. But instead of ponies three sober looking carriages took us to our destination. Yet the kindness shown to us on all sides made us feel perfectly at home in our new surroundings, and we entered earnestly upon our spiritual preparation for future labors.

In the course of our noviceship, the members of our whole community were edified by the visit of a priest, who had just been appointed to fill the episcopal see of Chicago, Bishop O'Regan. He came to prepare himself for his consecration by a retreat, which he prolonged for nearly three weeks. Soon after Bishop O'Regan had settled down in his diocese, he resolved to make earnest efforts to have a house of the Jesuit Fathers established in Chicago. He had witnessed the success of their labors while he occupied the post of president of the episcopal seminary near St. Louis. In compliance with his invitation, addressed to Rev. J. B. Druyts, S. J., Vice-

Provincial of the Missouri Province, the latter sent Father Arnold Damen, S. J. with a companion, Father Charles Truyens, S. J., to give a mission in Chicago. This proved to be a success. At once property was bought, and soon a small frame church was erected upon the very spot now occupied by the Holy Family Church and St. Ignatius College, near the corner of Roosevelt Road and Blue Island Avenue, at the time rather far from the heart of the city.³ Father Damen wanted to work for the laboring class, the members of which flocked eagerly around the new church, buying cheap lots in that locality, and building on them their homes. By September of the same year, 1857, a school was opened in a rented house. On the following feast of the Immaculate Conception, the Rt. Rev. Bishop laid with the solemn ceremonies the corner stone of a brick church. In 1860 this church was blessed and the old frame church, which had been twice enlarged, turned into a school. Only then the fathers built a house for their own habitation which still stands on the northeast corner of May Street and Roosevelt Road.⁴

The new church was soon found much too small for the increasing congregation, and in 1862 a wide front was added to it, and the steeple erected, which is still an ornament of the west side of Chicago. Soon afterwards, a money crisis stopped for a while the rapid extension of the city; and I well remember Father Sopranis, S. J. who had just visited Chicago, saying in my hearing at Cincinnati, Ohio: "Poor Father Damen! he has a great church, but outside the city, whose growth has been arrested." But Father Damen never knew discouragement. In 1864 he came to our college at Fordham, N. Y., where I was then studying theology, and there received a telegram from Chicago, informing him that his school, the former frame church, had been destroyed by fire. I expressed to William J. Onahan, who happened to be at Fordham College at the time, my compassion for Father Damen at his loss; but he knew the energy of his pastor better than I; and he promptly answered, "Do not pity Father Damen, but pity his parishioners, who will no doubt be called upon to contribute a large sum of money to build a much larger school." He was right. Father Damen hastened home and turned the basement of the brick church into a temporary school. On the following Sunday

³ See cut of this first Holy Family Church in *ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW*, Vol. I, op. p. 448.

⁴ For a detailed account of the beginnings of Holy Family parish, see *ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW*, Vol. I, p. 436, et seq.

he called a meeting of his parishioners to collect money for a much larger building. This was the end of May, 1864; and such was the good will of all, and the energy of the Chicago people that the large structure on Morgan Street, 125 feet long by 65 broad and 76 high, was ready for use by January, 1865.

All this rapidity of improvements clearly shows that Father Damen was not only a man of great energy, but also that he possessed much tact in cultivating the good will of his people, who in fact enthusiastically supported all his efforts, though the majority of them possessed very limited means. A still richer source of his influence was his ardent zeal to promote their spiritual welfare. He was a man of prayer, and was chiefly solicitous to make his people thoroughly God-fearing. For this purpose he fostered a special devotion to the Blessed Virgin. Separate sodalities were instituted for the married men, the married women, the young men and the young women, for working boys, etc. He began with a sodality for the men, which he established in the first year of his pastorate. Some of these sodalities in the course of time grew to a membership of over a thousand.

He was assisted in the care of the parochial school children by two members of his community, who are remembered to the present day with much love and veneration by many thousands of Chicago Catholics, Brother Thomas O'Neill, who came here in 1862, and his brother, Father Andrew O'Neill, who came two years later. These two good men devoted themselves with untiring industry and admirable ability to the education of the boys. Both brothers spent long lives in this work, the latter dying in 1907.

The instruction of the girls has been admirably conducted for half a century by the Sisters of the Blessed Virgin Mary, (the B. V. M.'s, as they are familiarly called) whose mother house is in Dubuque, Iowa. I had the pleasure of giving them the first annual retreat, which was for me an occasion of great edification. They lived at the time in a little frame house on Halsted Street, (twelve in number), having as superior the highly esteemed Sister Agatha. It was the poorest and yet most cheerful collection of religious that I have ever met. The house consisted of three rooms, namely, a parlor and a community room on the ground floor, with a diminutive appendage for a kitchen and a common dormitory above. On the landing at the head of the stair-case was placed an altar, at which I daily said Mass, the Sisters kneeling between their beds in the dormitory, whence they came singly to the door to receive Holy

Communion. The Lord has richly blessed their devoted labors. Then there was in Chicago only that little cottage; now they occupy nearly thirty large convent buildings. The boys and girls attending the parochial schools of Holy Family Parish twenty-eight years ago actually numbered 4444, a number easily remembered. When progress called for new buildings and other improvements Father Damen was again equal to the occasion.

In 1865 a magnificent main altar was blessed and the ceremony was honored by the presence of seven bishops, many priests, the mayor and city officials. During the same year a new parochial school was built for the southern part of the parish which also served as a succursal church on Sundays, and this later developed into St. Pius' parish. Meanwhile the Madames of the Sacred Heart had opened an academy on Taylor Street for more advanced pupils but they did not neglect the poorer classes for they likewise conducted one of the parochial schools. Father Damen now undertook to build a college for the higher education of Catholic boys. The foundation of St. Ignatius College was laid in 1867, and in September 1870 the course of studies was begun. The building was 170 feet long, 70 feet wide, and 130 feet high. Without additions made later it cost two hundred and thirty thousand dollars. About this time the good Sisters opened a new school building for girls on Maxwell Street which furnished ample accommodations for the pupils and Sisters, besides providing a large hall on the top story. By this time the number of priests laboring in the Holy Family parish had grown to about a dozen. While all these improvements were being made in the parish Father Damen entered upon more extended labors by preaching missions in cities and towns scattered over the United States. At first he left for only four or five days, then he took another Father along and continued the work for a whole week. The success was so encouraging that the missionary band later on consisted of eight priests who, either in separate bands or together continued their work for two or three successive weeks.

Before Father Damen came to Chicago I knew him as the zealous pastor of St. Xavier Church in St. Louis. He was very successful there and organized a "Young Men's Sodality," which gathered in the élite of the Catholic manhood of that city, and is still active in social and religious work. Father Damen had not yet developed any marked oratorical powers. In fact I remember how an old lady remarked that when she wanted to get a good sleep she could do so without fail by listening to one of his sermons. He felt his deficiency

in this respect, and took a vow that should he become a power in the pulpit, he would never hesitate to render any services desired by any superior. Suddenly his success in preaching became extraordinary. He drew immense audiences filling the largest churches with his stentorian voice and by his earnestness touched the hardest hearts. But he was far excelled in oratory by one of his companions, Father Cornelius F. Smarius. Both these men were natives of Holland, and had come to America to enter the Society of Jesus. In early youth Father Smarius had benefitted by good studies especially in the English language, he also taught Rhetoric in St. Louis University before he entered upon his missionary career. His commanding figure and powerful voice at once arrested attention and his choice diction, his logical arguments together with the solidity of his teachings produced a telling effect on his hearers and every mission counted many converts. I remember seeing him baptize at the close of a mission in St. Louis thirty adults; while from 40 to 70 were the usual number who received their first Holy Communion during each mission. During his missionary career, which was all too short, 1862 to 1871 he wrote and published "Points of Controversy," a book still in use today. Before delivering a sermon he was accustomed to read some extracts from Webster's speeches in order to rekindle the spirit of his style.

Another writer of this time was Father Florentine Boudreaux who was the author of two of the most beautiful religious volumes in the English language, "The Happiness of Heaven," and "God Our Father." The style, illustrations, together with the richness of information and tenderness of devotional spirit, probably make them foremost among the most charming books written on these subjects. These books have been translated into many languages.

I will add only one name to the list of distinguished men that I have mentioned. It is that of the genial Father John Verdin, S. J., who, after being a resident of St. Louis University, became a conspicuous figure on the faculty of St. Ignatius College, Chicago, and who is remembered with pleasure by all those who knew him at that time and are still left to cherish his memory.

CHARLES COPPENS, S. J.

Chicago.

THE NORTHEASTERN PART OF THE DIOCESE OF ST. LOUIS UNDER BISHOP ROSATI

(Continued from January, 1920)

V. FATHER PETER PAUL LEFEVERE OF SALT RIVER

With the advent of Father Samuel Mazzuchelli, O. P., as successor of Father Francis Fitzmaurice, June 24, 1835, the missions of Galena and Dubuque enter upon a really prosperous period that was to know no serious decline. But, for the present, we must leave that northernmost portion of Bishop Rosati's Diocese and proceed on the pathway of Father Marquette to take up the thread of our narrative at a point that will lead us into fresh and as yet undiscovered country. The hero of this religious movement is the man of untiring zeal and energy, Father, afterwards Bishop, Peter Paul Lefevere, whose missionary territory was the largest and most difficult of all in the diocese.

Nominally pastor of St. Paul's on Salt River in Ralls County, Missouri, he extended his influence far and wide, in Missouri, Illinois, and Iowa. With the deep, lively faith of his first patron, St. Peter, Father Lefevere combined the courage and straightforwardness of his second patron, St. Paul, which led him, at least on one occasion, to resist his beloved bishop and tell him to his face what he thought of his extravagance. But no harm was done, no ill-will produced, and Bishop Rosati continued to hold the great and good man in the highest esteem.

Peter Paul Lefevere was born in Roulers, in the diocese of Bruges, April 30, 1804. After a classical course in his Belgian home, he studied theology at Paris and, coming to Missouri, was ordained by Bishop Rosati at St. Mary's of the Barrens, November 20, 1831. On the 27th of April, 1832, the Bishop appointed the Rev. Victor Paillason pastor of New Madrid and of all the surrounding country, with faculties in Kentucky and Tennessee, and gave him as his assistant the Rev. Peter Paul Lefevere. It was the intention of the authorities to found a school of higher education in New Madrid. The erection of a proper building was immediately begun. Great hopes were entertained in regard to the project, especially by the people of New Madrid. but it all met with sudden disaster. We

will append Father Lefevere's own words written under the influence of the event, in a letter to the Bishop, dated:

NEW MADRID, June 24th, 1832.

MOST REV. SIR—You are undoubtedly already informed of the great misfortune which happened to us on the eve of Corpus Christi by the combustion of our house, which was already nearly completed. At that dreadful event, struck with sadness and grief, we both thought immediately to abandon our post and return to St. Louis; but seeing the apparent anxiety and activity of the people to renew what we had undertaken, Mr. Paillason found it expedient that he alone should go up in order to inform you of the sad and serious condition to which this misfortune has brought us, and to know what there should now be done. As he seems to have more courage than I, and to show a kind of punctilio to recommence the establishment, I write these lines by his request to expose to you my depression and also the embarrassment and grief which might lead him to so dangerous an engagement. You know, Most Rev. Sir, that in the prospectus he has given of this establishment, he has expressly specified and determined that it would be erected and directed on the same plan as that in the Barrens, and also, that there would be erected a convent of nuns for the purpose of keeping a female school. Besides, he has also expressly given notice that in both these seminaries or academies, as they call them here, no mention would ever be made of religion or of whatever regards the Catholic doctrine and worship. Now the people, seeing the loss of so great an improvement and benefit for this place, offer willingly to subscribe for the rebuilding of that seminary. We, after a sufficient inquiry and information, find that the building, in the manner the people desire and will have it, would cost, at least, from nine hundred to a thousand dollars, making deduction of all superfluities and considering the building as rough and simple as possible; and the sum of the subscriptions, calculating at large, could only amount to five hundred dollars. So that we would run into debt for four or five hundred dollars. Moreover, being once engaged, we would incur debts upon debts; later for the convent and after that for the church. You conceive very well that this could never be paid with the revenue of the school. Which, I am sure, will never exceed the expense of our corporal sustenance. Besides, you know very well, that the school, we would be able to teach, could and would never satisfy the idea and expectation of the people, which since our arrival, they have continually kept up and increased, thinking to establish and erect themselves on the ruins of the Barrens. So, considering the little prospect and hopes of future progress in the propagation of faith, knowing the inconstancy of the people and convinced that their only motive and intent is their temporal interest, I having no money in cash shall never venture to engage myself for one dollar, under obligation of paying it with the revenue of a precarious school. Because, most Rev. Sir, knowing the dreadful situation of many priests of America merely on account of debts,¹ I

¹ Father Lefevere's horror in regard to debts, was more than justified by an occurrence of the day. In 1833 Father L. Picot of Vincennes was twice imprisoned for debts contracted, not by himself but by the Trustees of the Church. The debt was \$50.00. The Sisters went security and Father Picot was released from confinement, but had to turn beggar to pay the sum. Cf. *The American Catholic Historical Researches*, January, 1898.

dread them more than death itself, and would prefer to cultivate the land from morning till evening rather than entangle myself so far. It would also be very painful to me to depend on the whim of the people for a worldly subsistence, because they would have subscribed to the house, without having ever the consolation of seeing any conversion to God, and even without having any time of working for my own salvation. Till now we never said Mass in public, but always privately, and even missed it often ourselves on account of manual labor. We preached about six times in the courthouse, where the people assembled merely to see one another for amusement and pastime, as they say it themselves. You see that the present and future consolation, either temporal or spiritual, is very small, and besides our characters differ on many points, one from another. If therefore you could apply some remedy to my present situation which is lamentable, or assign me some place where, by means of a frugal sustenance, I could work with more fruit for the salvation of others and that of myself, which is the only motive that brought me to America, you would infinitely oblige,

Most Rev. Sir, Your most humble and obedient servant,

P. LEFEVERE, P.

Bishop Rosati's answer of the 18th of July, 1832, announces to Father Lefevere his appointment to the mission of Salt River, but the 2nd day of August he suspends this order, saying that as Father Paillasson was sent on a special mission to Arkansas, he should remain at New Madrid until the pastor's return. Father Lefevere might also join Father Beauprez in the Arkansas mission.² Father Lefevere left the choice of his future field to his superior, as was proper, and explained his sad condition:

NEW MADRID, August 17, 1832.

MY LORD—I have been favored with yours of the 2nd inst. in which you seem to give me the choice of the Post of Arkansas; but the obedience which God exacts from inferiors to their lawful superiors commands, and even decency requires, that I should forbear on this point choosing or undertaking anything of my own accord. Wherefore, far from having the least objection or showing the least discontent to whatever is determined, I willingly and joyfully submit to the first orders I shall receive, and am ready to go whithersoever your Lordship shall be pleased to send me. I would only suggest that I greatly apprehend to have no better success than Mr. Saulnier,³ who is an old and experienced missionary, and my apprehension has also been increased by the dreadful portrait men of good information here have drawn of the immorality and all the vices of the inhabitants of Arkansas. On the other hand, I sensibly feel and experience that warm climates are very prejudicial to my health, and

² Bishop Rosati's *Letter-Book*. Cf. F. G. Holweck, *The Arkansas Mission Under Rosati* in *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. I, p. 243 seq.

³ Father Edmund Saulnier had some rather strange experiences, and but very moderate successes in this mission of Arkansas. All through life he shone more as a talker and letter-writer, than as a missionary. Father Holweck gives a few of Saulnier's highly diverting letters.

perhaps more so to my spiritual welfare. This is what I thought necessary to mention. As for the rest, I resign and conform myself entirely to your will, because this is a duty incumbent on me, and I am confident that you act and ever will act as a father in my regard. I am much embarrassed and in a state of dejection. When I left the Seminary I was without money and had but a scanty provision of clothes, which are now almost worn out by continual work at the establishment, and since my arrival here I have not yet received so much as one cent. So that for want of means I could not stay long in this place, and I am also unable to pay the passage to the place you would send me. . . . It would be a great favor to me and a great relief, if you would pay my passage, and send me something, either by intentions or otherwise, to place myself in a somewhat better condition than I am at present.

I am, with profound sentiments of respect, my Lord,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

P. LEFEVERE, Pr.

This plaintive letter brought the decision which determined Father Lefevere's future life. It is the brief order of August 29: "In the letter which will be brought to you by Mr. Laroehia you will find a banknote of ten dollars to pay your passage from New Orleans to St. Louis, from where you will go to Salt River."⁴ And to Salt River Father Lefevere went, December 3, to do valiant battle in the cause of Holy Church, until his appointment as Bishop of Zela, and Coadjutor and Administrator of Detroit, November 22, 1841, almost eight years of ceaseless trouble and toil.

Concerning this period of Father Lefevere's activities we have a beautiful monument in the letters he wrote from time to time to Bishop Rosati, letters that owe more to the grace of Christ than animated the writer than to the graces of the English language. Yet, the English is clear and always to the point; and the matter these letters embody is a most important contribution to the history of the beginnings of the Church in Northern Wisconsin and Illinois. We do not, therefore, feel that we owe an apology to our readers for inserting them entire and unchanged in their native ruggedness, interspersing, however, from other authentic sources further information on matters civil and religious that have a bearing on the progress of Father Lefevere's missionary labors:⁵

⁴ Bishop Rosati's *Letter-Book*.

⁵ Father Theodore Bruener in his well-written monograph on the history of the Catholic Church in Quincy, *Katholische Kirchengeschichte Quincy's*, 1887, makes extensive use of Father Lefevere's letters, and gives four of the series in a German, not entirely satisfactory version, omitting as he does, the very interesting, though not very respectful, passage in regard to Bishop Rosati's Cathedral.

SALT RIVER, January 23, 1833.

RIGHT REVD. FATHER IN GOD—When you started from St. Louis to the Seminary I was in hope of seeing you once more before I should be called for Salt River. But no sooner was I arrived at Ste. Genevieve in compliance with your order, than Mr. Leake arrived there with a letter from Mr. Borgna (the Vicar-General) that I should immediately accompany this gentleman to St. Louis to start from thence for Salt River. This certainly afforded me a great deal of pleasure, seeing that I was then going to my destined station, where I could exercise the ministry. But coming to St. Louis, I was greatly discouraged and downhearted, because I knew that some difficulties had occurred in this congregation, that I could not receive any directions from you, and that Mr. Van Quickenborn* would not communicate anything, neither of the disposition of the Catholics, or as to what he had done or regulated at Salt River. Besides I was entirely unacquainted with the disposition of the congregation, and was without money. Therefore, considering the situation in which I was, I hope you will not be displeased with my interpreting your good will, that you would repay the loan of twenty-five dollars which were offered to me by the Rev. Mr. Lutz. As for what regards the religion here, I have every reason to feel satisfied, seeing the fervor and the zeal of a great many of these Catholics; and if I may judge of what I have already seen, the congregation in general is well disposed and feels deeply interested in having a stationary clergyman among them. But they are widely scattered. I have held church already in two different homes and promised to hold it next time in another place; and I think it will be necessary to go, from time to time, to two other homes. This is somewhat embarrassing to me; for it seems that there is a kind of emulation among the people to have Mass said on Sundays at their house. On this side of the river (Salt River) they seem to desire that the priest should stay among them and spend the greater part of his time in their congregation, because they are more numerous and have built a church, which is already far advanced; on the other side they show great disposition to build a church, and therefore seem to desire that the priest should go often amongst them. As for me, I board with Mr. Raphy Leake, who receives me with all possible kindness and affection; and so does his lady and all his family towards me. But he has many children, and his house is not over large, and therefore I think he does more than he is able. You know that this must be inconvenient to me and to the people. As for finishing the church, building a house, and getting a salary, I dare not undertake anything without your directions for fear of contradicting the measures which have been already taken here by Father De Theux and Mr. Van Quickenborn and thus wearing out the patience of the people. For, as I hear, regulations have been made for a house and a farm appertaining to the church, and also for the establishment of a male and female school; of all these things Mr. Van Quickenborn would communicate nothing, not even things that regard the ministry, the knowledge of which would have been necessary or at least very useful to me; he seemed to know everything under secrecy. But if you think proper, that I should not have knowledge of these things, or not meddle with

* Rev. Charles Van Quickenborne, S. J., Pastor of St. Charles, and in 1836 Superior of the Kickapoo Indian Mission. Rev. Theodore De Theux, S. J., in 1836 was Rector of the Scholasticate of St. Stanislaus at Florissant.

them, I humbly entreat you to give me, at least, some directions how I should act, and what I should do for the ministry as well as for my maintenance.

I am with profound respect and submission,

Your most humble servant,

P. LEFEVERE.

P. S.—If you should write anything that requires an answer, be not astonished if not receiving it in due time; for very often the letters do not arrive. Mr. Leake never received the letter you wrote to him. If therefore you do not receive an answer, please to write a second time. The surest way would be to direct your letters in the care of Mr. Raphy Leake on Salt River, near New London, Ralls County, Mo.

As early as January, 1831, the people living along both sides of Salt River in Ralls County, Missouri, had received the promise of a resident priest. The congregation was called St. Pauls. The people were immigrants from Kentucky and Maryland. Almost all the Catholics of the neighborhood were, as Father Lefevere states in 1834, one continuous series of relations and connexions. And they were constantly intermarrying, because they, knowing the fatal effects of mixed marriages, had scarcely any suitable opportunity of marriage except among members of their relationship. The first settlers of St. Paul's congregation were James Leak and John Elliot in 1829. Mass was usually said in the houses of James Leak, Raphael Leak and James Elliot, first by Father John A. Elet, S. J., then by Father Charles Van Quickenborne, S. J. Eighty acres of land were set apart for the use of the congregation. There were forty-five families in the Salt River country when Father Lefevere arrived. Mr. James Leake offered to board the pastor gratis and to take care of his horse. He promised to make him as comfortable as he could, and it should not cost him a cent.

The houses in which the missionary was obliged to say Mass in St. Pauls, as well as in the numerous places he was about to visit on both sides of the Mississippi, were probably all built on the same simple plan: so let me give the description of one as written down in 1831:

THE LOG HOUSE OF PIONEER DAYS

There were two rooms, both on the ground floor, separated from each other with boards so badly joined that crevices were observable in many places. The rooms were nearly square, and might contain from thirty to forty square yards each. Beneath one of the rooms was a cellar, the floor and sides of which were clay, as left when first dug out; the walls of the house consisted of layers of strong blocks of timber, roughly squared and notched into each other at the corners; the joints filled up with clay. The house had two doors, one of which

is always closed in winter, and open in summer to cause a draught. The fire was on the floor at the end of the building, where a very grotesque chimney had been constructed of stones gathered out of the land, and walled together with clay and mud instead of cement. It was necessarily of great width, to prevent the fire from communicating with the building. The house was covered with oak shingles; that is to say, thin riven boards nailed upon each other, so as just to overreach. The floors of the house were covered with the same material, except a large space near the fire, which was paved with small stones, also gathered from the land. The windows were few and rather small. It is in reality true, that the want of light is felt very little in a log-house; in winter they are obliged to keep fine blazing fires, which, in addition to the light obtained from their low, wide chimneys, enable the inmates to perform any business that is requisite.

It, is however, by no means to be understood that an American log-house equals in comfort and convenience a snug English cottage. It is quite common to see at least one bed in the same room as that in which the fire is kept; a practice which invariably gives both the bed and house a filthy appearance. There was no chamber, only a sort of loft, constructed rather with a view to make the house warmer than to afford additional room. Adjoining one side were a few boards nailed together in the form of a table, and supported principally by the timber in the wall. This was dignified with the name "sideboard". In the center of this room stood another small table, covered with a piece of coarse brown calico; this was the dining table. The chairs, four in number, were the most respectable furniture in the house, having bark of hickory platted for bottoms. Besides these there were two stools and a bench for common use,—a candlestick made from an ear of Indian corn, two or three trenchers and a few tin drinking vessels. One corner of the house was occupied with agricultural implements, consisting of large hoes, axes, etc., for stubbing, called in America, grubbing, flails and wooden forks, all exhibiting specimens of workmanship rather homely. Various herbs were suspended from the roof with a view of being medicinally serviceable, also two guns, one of them a rifle. There were also several hams and sides of bacon, smoked almost until they were black; two or three pieces of beef, etc. The furniture in the other room consisted of two beds and a handloom, with which the family wove the greater part of their own clothes. In the cellar I observed two or three large hewn tubs, full of lard, and a lump of tobacco, the produce of their own land, in appearance sufficient to serve an ordinary smoker his life.

In these straitened circumstances of a country just emerging from the native condition of wild wood and prairie, Father Lefevere began his missionary career. Add to this the frequent contradictions from the wicked and wayward, and the indifference, seeming or real,

¹Extract from rare pamphlet published in 1848 in London by S. Berger and entitled, *A True Picture of Emigration or Fourteen Years in the Interior of North America*, being a full and impartial account of the various difficulties and ultimate success of an English family, who immigrated from Barwick-in-Elmet, near Leeds, in the year 1831.

of those for whom he was sacrificing his young life, and we may well understand that his condition at times must have appeared to him as a dreary exile. But, *labor omnia vincit*; labor in the cause of God, conquered all feelings of despondency, all desire for a change; where there is so much to do, and he alone to do it, he will not shrink from any work, but casting his care upon the Lord, he will leave it to Him to bless his labors. The following letter will give us an illustration of this. It is dated:

SALT RIVER TOWNSHIP, July 12, 1833.

RIGHT REV. SIR—When I last visited the Catholics who live above Palmyra in the counties of Marion and Lewis, a perplexing case occurred to me; two of these Catholics had been waiting a long time for the arrival of the priest to be married, and my delay had made them somewhat impatient, so that the day after my arrival all was ready for the marriage. But they were kindred, either in the third degree simple, or the fourth and third mixed, for when the brother who was married to the sister of the other party, explained their lineage, I found nothing but the third degree. But he told me that he was not able to give an exact statement; but that Bishop Flaget had told them at their marriage that it was not exactly the third, but was between the third and fourth degree. Now seeing that it was difficult to get any better information, and there being grave reason for dispensing, I have married them, thinking that I had the faculty of dispensing, in such a case in the fourth and third degree mixed, and in case it was the third degree simple, I knew that Mr. Borgna (the Vicar-General) had given me the faculty of dispensing in that degree in case of great necessity. But still I have done it with some misgivings, thinking that this faculty had perhaps been withdrawn by your granting the ordinary faculties.

The next time I visit these Catholics it is very probable that the same case will happen again. Wherefore I beg of you the favor of granting dispensation in case this should happen, for I think there are grave reasons for so doing, because these Catholics are almost all blood relations; they are very strict observers of their religion, and are living among Presbyterians, the most embittered against the Catholics; besides, none of them are land-owners, the land is all taken up by other possessors, and all have formed a resolution of moving higher up and forming a Catholic settlement.

In my last trip I said Mass at a Catholic house on the bank of the Mississippi, just opposite Quincy, and hearing that Mr. O'Neil, who has been a brother in the Seminary, was living in that town, I sent over to him to come to Mass. He came over with another Catholic, and both went to their duties. They told me that there were several Catholics living in Quincy, who were greatly desirous of having a church. As this town is in the state of Illinois, I do not know whether it would be licit for me to go there, but if you give me leave, I shall go there the next time, as it is not out of the way I have to go.

The cholera has been more fatal in Palmyra than in any other place I have ever heard of. Out of a population of six hundred and odd souls 109 persons have fallen victims to that disease. It has also been in New London and throughout the country round about. Several persons have been swept away; and I attribute it to a particular favor of God that I have escaped the disease;

for during eighteen days I have been continually exposed to all that wet spell of weather, which caused every creek and water course to be past fording, being wet to the skin every day by a hard beating rain, or by swimming or high fording. All this, however, has brought on a daily fever and ague for these three weeks, whose severity, together with the repeated doses of calomel, tartar emetic and other medicines, has weakened and exhausted me so much that I was not able to walk around the house. The fever now begins to abate, so that I have been able to say Mass today for the first time, not, however, without great difficulty and fatigue; and I hope now that little by little I shall gather my strength so as to be able, after a few days, to attend to my former duties.

I am, with great respect and obedience, yours,

PETER LEFEVERE.

P. S.—I beg of you the favor to forward the enclosed to Mr. Borgna or, in his absence, to Mr. Taylor.

As in this letter Father Lefevere makes mention for the first time of Quincy, we will accompany him on his trip across the river. Quincy has the distinction of being the earliest purely German parish along the whole course of the Mississippi River. The pioneer settler was the John Wood, a veteran of the War of 1812, who in 1821 took possession of his Congressional grant and built his home upon it. The town was named for President John Quincy Adams, the county being called Adams. The first German settler was Michael Mass, a Catholic from Baden, who had left his native city, Forchheim in Breisgau in 1816, made a fortune in Mexico and established his home in Quincy in the year 1829. Father Lefevere met some of the Catholic people of Quincy, who came over to the Missouri side of the river to attend divine service, as his letter states, and were by him encouraged to send a petition to Bishop Rosati for a resident priest. As the bishop had no one to send,* Father Lefevere offered to visit the people of Quincy

* In view of the ever-increasing immigration of German Catholics to Missouri and Illinois, Bishop Rosati made repeated efforts in Rome to obtain some German missionaries for his diocese. Two Propaganda-Students at Rome belonging to the diocese of St. Louis, Hilary Tucker and George A. Hamilton, kept the Bishop informed as to any prospects of help from the center of Christendom. Hilary Tucker writes September 10, 1835: "If you should be in the need of any other German clergymen you would do well to write to the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Eichstaedt, Count Reisach, our former rector, who will soon leave us. He has told me that he has no doubt but that he can find some good priests for you. At present there is establishing in Rome, a society called the Apostolico Catolico, which has for its object the same as that of the Propagation of the Faith in France and of the Leopoldine Society in Germany. If it succeeds, I will give you notice. Many Cardinals, and even princes, have already taken interest in it. The institutor of it is the confessor of our college, a holy priest, who is looked upon in Rome as a living saint. I have made known the necessities

and surrounding country, in addition to his own numerous and difficult stations, as we learn from his next letter:

ST. PAUL'S, July 3, 1834.

MY LORD—When I had the pleasure of conversing with your Lordship last winter, I nourished the greatest of hopes of seeing the church on Salt River completed at my return. But to my sad astonishment, I saw that, during all my absence, not a single stroke had been given to it, and that the prospect of having it finished before long was very dim. Therefore I tarried here these four weeks, visiting the little congregations around in order to give them all the opportunity of celebrating their Easter. During that time I made them sensible of their sluggishness and little zeal in the service of God, and their backwardness in contributing to the attainment of the necessary nourishment of their souls. Finally I told them in positive terms, that in the manner I had been until then living among them without any return of support, a clergyman could not or ought not stay amongst them; that now I was going to visit the scattered Catholics on the side of Illinois and beyond the state of Missouri, that it was now left at their choice either to have a stationary clergyman amongst them or not. For should the church at my return not be completed, and some arrangement for a reasonable support be made up, I was fully determined to leave them, without giving them any hopes of ever obtaining another priest for the present. This (missionary) visit took me about three months, during which I never could pass more than three nights in the same place. I went from Atlas to the head of the Rapids,* forty and fifty miles backward and forward in the interior of the country, continually hunting after some Catholics that were newly come to this section. Then I returned on this side of the Mississippi among the Half Indians and in the New Purchase where the Catholics are increasing very fast. The difficulties and the hardships I had to struggle with were great; but in all this I had the consolation of baptizing several adult persons, and of seeing many Catholics, who until then had been cold and indifferent and had never made any use of the church for many years, take a new start, as it were, in the way of their salvation, and devoutly approach the Sacraments. In and about Quincy the Catholics are coming in considerably faster, and are very anxious to have a Catholic church built there. Even people of other (religious) professions are very eager in the cause, and have offered a lot or two, and other aid towards the building of a chapel. They had also written a petition in order to entreat your Lordship to station a clergyman amongst them. Before sending it they asked my advice about it. I told them there was now a great scarcity of priests in the Diocese, that I thought it would be impossible to have a stationary one at present. Nevertheless, I encouraged them to send it on and proceed in their good undertaking, saying that, if they had a church, the place would at least be regularly visited, until there should be a priest stationed there. At

of the diocese of St. Louis to this young society, but as yet I know not whether it will succeed or not."

* Atlas is in Pike County, about 40 miles north Quincy. The "Head of the Lower Rapids," is Nauvoo in Hancock County, then also called Commerce, about 50 miles north of Quincy. The "Fort of the Lower Rapids" is Warsaw, just opposite Keokuk.

the Head of the Rapids, about fifty miles above Quincy, there is a still greater prospect for a church, because the Catholics there are more numerous and very zealous toward the building of a church. Several other families, too, are going to settle there next fall. I saw some time ago in the *Shepherd*, if I recollect well, that Mr. St. Cyr was destined for the mission in the northern part of Illinois. I presumed it was for Sangamon County. But except for Galena, where as I have seen, a priest is already stationed, I do not think that in the whole northern district of Illinois, there is a more interesting and promising mission than at the Rapids and at Quincy. The Catholics are more numerous, the land fertile, well watered and considerably well timbered, and close to the main navigation. People also seem to move to it from every part of the Union. As for Sangamon County, a great many of the Catholics, who used to live there, have moved already to the State of Missouri, and the greater part of the remainder of them intend to move out shortly. And indeed I see no inducement for them to stay there. The land, it is true, is richer than common, but it is extremely sickly.¹⁰ They live toward the head of the Sangamon River, far from navigation, far from market, where no business is stirring, and no money circulating. And it is but too often the case, that Catholics settle in the poorest or most sickly places, and are induced to move or stay there on account of prospects for a church; and this is the great reason that Catholics are generally poor and kept under by other denominations. If Mr. St. Cyr, or any other priest were stationed at Quincy or at the Head of the Rapids, he would find there a wide extensive field for his zeal in the cause of God. Besides many other Catholics scattered through the country, he would find four little congregations in a circuit, as it were of forty or fifty miles at most. These congregations are as yet small, indeed, but very promising and increasing daily. There is one at Quincy, one at the Head of the Rapids, another on the Fork of Crooked Creek,¹¹ and a fourth one at the Foot of the Rapids among the Half Indians, where there are several French and American families living. From there he could even go sometimes to Sangamon County. On the other hand it would be very consoling for the Missionary. It would be placing the spiritual and temporal comforts within a reach of us both, and also that of the priest stationed at Galena. Then at least we could sometimes see one another. We could ask for consolation in affliction, counsel in doubt, and help in distress, without being exposed so much to die without the consolation of receiving the last Sacraments, as Mr. McMahon of afflicting memory. As for

¹⁰ The health conditions of this part of Illinois at this time, do not seem to have improved very much since the days of Schoolcraft, who in 1821 went up the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers to an assembly of Indians at Chicago. Of the lower Illinois Valley he wrote: "But at the same time the insalubrity of the climate, particularly during the summer season, must be construed as presenting a formidable impediment to its speedy settlement. The appearance of the inhabitants has corresponded with the unhealthfulness of the country. Pale and emaciated countenances, females shivering with ague or burning with intermittent fever, unable to minister to their children, and sometimes every member of a numerous family suffering from the prevailing malady at the same time, have been among the more common scenes." Schoolcraft, H. W. *Travel in the Central Portion of the Mississippi Valley*, 1821.

my part, if I stay on Salt River, I absolutely could not visit those places any longer. It would be absenting myself too long from these congregations here, and the distance being so great, I could not stand it a long time being dragged continually through rivers and swamps to visit these places.

At my return to Salt River the people had just completed the church, the best way they could, and seemed to have a great desire to have Divine Services performed in it. We had then, the two last Sundays, for the first time, high Mass in it; a band of singers of the congregation forming a delightful and harmonious choir. The church was crowded with people from every quarter of the County, who seemed to be very much delightful and edified with the Divine Service that was performed. I have said and do say Mass in it until now, as if it were in a private house; because I think that, without further necessary ornaments and decorations, this building is not fit to be blessed and dedicated to the service of the Almighty. Still in case of sickness and out of necessity, I keep the Blessed Sacrament in the tabernacle, which I have rendered as neat and decorous as my slender means would permit. The altar and the celebrant are entirely destitute of all necessary deckings, and vestments for the august Sacrifice of Mass. There is no becoming chasuble or albe. When I came to Salt River I had but one, which was yet indifferent, and by carrying it now for the space of almost two years in the saddle bags, it has become unfit for use. There are no candle-sticks, no linens for the altar, no canopy, no antependium, no carpet, no decent pictures or crucifix, the church, in a word, is unfit for the performance of Divine Service: and it is but necessity that urges me to say Mass within its walls. I hope then that your Lordship will open his benevolent eyes to the pressing wants of this church and supply what the congregation, with its utmost endeavors, cannot effect. For as the child goes to the father for the wants of nature, so does an humble priest in the name of his entrusted congregation, address himself, without fear of refusal, to his beloved Bishop, for the almost indispensable means of performing his office with decency, proficiency and edification.

The Catholics here are very eager and desirous to retain your humble servant for their parish priest, and for my support they have made up a subscription of fifty dollars on this side, and forty on the other side of the river (Salt River.) It is little, but it is all that their slender abilities can afford, and I fear that for want of means a great part of what is subscribed will never be paid. The settlers here are poor and have large families. They are generally people who could not find subsistence in the state from which they moved, or who met with some great loss or misfortune; and the little money they had in coming to this state they have laid out to enter their land. So that now they live poorly, work hard, and raise scarcely enough to support their own family. But, at all events, I should loathe the idea of abandoning this mission, considering the importance of it and the immense good that can be done here. It is true, a great many of the Catholics here are cold and indifferent in the ways of God, but it seems to me, that this is the very reason why greater efforts should be made in order to warm that coldness and inspire the rising generation with that ardor and zeal, which one day will constitute them good members of the Church and shining lights to other (religious) professions. I feel very sorry, My Lord, that you are not better acquainted with these northern parts of the state of Missouri. Because, I am confident that, were you thoroughly acquainted with them by self

information and experience, you would be convinced that they require more of your episcopal attention than any of the Southern parts. Because the land here is so beautiful, healthy and productive of most every kind of vegetable, and the people are moving to it so rapidly that it surpasses anything your Lordship has ever seen until now. Catholics, too, are daily increasing and scattering through the country. There are here, as it were, seven small congregations in a circuit of about a hundred and twenty miles, and if in some of these places a little chapel were erected it would be the means of collecting the Catholics together and making many conversions, and also of establishing the Church permanently in these parts. Without such effectual means, I fear greatly that the various sects of Protestants will take the upper hand, since they are also increasing rapidly and seem to bend every effort towards establishing their own sect in every neighborhood. I say these things, not that I would dictate to your Lordship, for I hope that such a suspicion will never arise in your truly episcopal heart. But it is merely a sense of duty that urges me to write this in order to call your particular attention to this interesting and noble portion of your spiritual realm.

I have a great desire of enjoying your Lordship's presence, but I cannot start on account of the prairie flies, which are now so bad that it is impossible to travel; and after they begin to subside, which will be towards the middle of August, before I come, I must absolutely make another trip, in order to visit some Catholics whom I left last time, half way, as it were, in their return to the pale of the Church.

I remain, with due respect, My Lord;

Your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant,

PETER P. LEFEVERE.

Father Lefevere animadverts with some natural warmth on the seeming predilection of Bishop Rosati for the missions in the southern parts of his spiritual realm, the old French settlements in Southern Missouri, Illinois, and in the state of Louisiana. That the North had the promise of a glorious future far surpassing that of the South, may have dawned on the mind of the far-seeing bishop; yet it was the South that then possessed the strong, well-established parishes, and almost all the cultured elements of his diocese. Father Lefevere knew but little of the South, and what he knew by experience of its religious and social conditions was not favorable. Yet his fine judgment as to the brilliant prospects of the North, at a time when its energies were just beginning to make themselves felt, deserve our grateful recognition. The wide fields were ready for the hands of the sowers of the seed, and other fields were waiting for the laborers that should clear and till the soil; but the laborers were all too few. Between St. Paul's on Salt River and Chicago, the eastern extremity of Illinois; between Dubuque and Galena in the north, and Cahokia and St. Louis there was not a single priest. Of Father Fitzmaurice we have already spoken, and to his successor in Galena we shall return in the course

of our wanderings. Of St. Cyr, the first resident priest of Chicago, we will have occasion to speak ere long, as his stay at Chicago was about contemporaneous with Lefevere's early days at St. Paul's and in the surrounding wilderness. The seed of God's Word has taken root in this virgin soil: the indications for a great harvest are not, as yet, very noticeable; still Father Lefevere is full of confidence, and his buoyant hope and resistless energy communicate themselves to others, as a pledge of the great things to come.

VI. FATHER LEFEVERE AND FATHER ST. CYR

As Father Lefevere's letter of July 3, 1834, passes in rapid survey, not only the country in the immediate vicinity of Quincy, but also the promising settlements on the lower Illinois River, with its tributaries—Crooked Creek and Sangamon River, a brief account of the physical and social conditions of these advanced posts of civilization in Central Illinois will prove acceptable and, we hope, helpful for the better understanding of what we may have to say concerning the planting of the Church therein.

In 1818 the settled part of Illinois extended a little north of Edwardsville and Alton. The entire State numbered about 45,000 souls, about 2,000 of whom were the descendants of the early French settlers, in the villages of Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, Prairie du Pont, Cahokia, Peoria and Chicago. Immigration on a larger scale from the East and the South set in in 1822. Galena in the farthest north was settled about 1825, though known as a lead center somewhat earlier. "In 1823 Sangamon River and Fulton County were the northern boundaries of the settlements. A military and trading post existed at Chicago, and a dozen families, chiefly French, were gathered at Peoria, formerly known as Lake Plenteous. The northern half of Illinois was a continuous wilderness, or as the universal impression was, an interminable prairie, forever uninhabitable. Morgan County, then including Scott and Cass, had about seventy-five families. Springfield in Sangamon County was a frontier village of a dozen log cabins."¹¹ In 1830 the first steamboat went up the Illinois River as far as Peoria.

"The population of the State," says Ford, "had increased by the year 1830 to 157,447; it had spread north from Alton as far as

¹¹ At the "Foot of the Rapids" is Keokuk. The reservation of the Half-Indians comprised about one-third of Iowa. "Crooked Creek" is Fountain Green, the destined home of Father St. Cyr in Central Illinois.

Peoria, principally along the rivers and creeks, and in such places there were settlers sparsely scattered along the margin of the Mississippi River as far as Galena, sometimes at a distance of a hundred miles apart; also on the Illinois River to Chicago, with long intervals of wilderness; a few sparse settlements were scattered about all over the southern part of the military tract, Pike and Calhoun counties. The country on the Sangamon River and its tributaries had been settled, . . . leaving a large wilderness tract yet to be peopled between Galena and Chicago; the whole extent of the Rock River and Fox River counties, and nearly all the lands of Hancock, McDonough, Fulton, Peoria, Stark, Warren, Henderson, Knox, Mercer, Henry, Bureau, Livingston, Champaign, Platt and Iroquois, comprising one third of the State. As yet in 1830 but a few settlements had been made anywhere in the then open-wide prairies, but were confined to the margins of the timber in the vicinity of rivers and streams of water.¹²

There was reason for this. The prairie lands were so different from anything the early immigrants had seen. Though marvels of beauty and design, stretching away in endless undulation of wind-swept grass in summer, with a clump of trees here and there; apparently fertile beyond the lands of the East, yet so silent and lonesome, lacking shade and water, uncanny as if a curse rested on the vast expanse of pathless green, the prairies frightened away the bewildered homeseekers. Thus it came to pass, that up to the Black Hawk War, Northern Illinois was almost an uninhabited wilderness, in which the towns of Peru, La Salle, Ottawa, Newark, Holderness Grove, Galena and Chicago formed the scattered oases of civilization, the two places—Galena on the Mississippi and Peoria on the Illinois River being connected by the only railroad in the State. For the rest, there was the stage-road through the pathless prairie to Shawneetown on the Ohio and the Illinois River leading to the outer world.

But with the defeat of Black Hawk the sinister charm seemed broken. The soil was found to be most fertile, the climate not too severe, and the lurking dangers from savage men and wild animals only formed another element of attraction. Numberless settlements arose in all the counties, and every year brought new and flourishing additions to the towns already founded.

Although the great immigration of Irish Catholics was coincident

¹² *Annals of the West*, compiled by James H. Perkins, second edition revised and enlarged by J. M. Peck, St. Louis, 1850.

with the Irish famine of 1846, 1847, and 1848, and that of the German Catholics found its high-tide during the years 1841-1850, still there was a steady stream of Catholic families pouring into Northern Illinois all through its earlier period and diffusing its elements of progress throughout the length and breadth of the land. What was to become of their religion amid the hardship and privations of the wilderness, in the loneliness of isolated homesteads, or among men of other faiths? That was the great question that touched the heart of many, but most deeply the fatherly heart of Bishop Rosati. For the Bishop of St. Louis had in 1818 been intrusted by Bishop Flaget of Bardstown with the spiritual care of the Catholic settlements of Illinois along the Mississippi. At that time this commission was comparatively easy, as these settlements were all in the immediate neighborhood of St. Louis. But as the settlements were extended farther and farther every year, the difficulty of providing for them grew in proportion.

In order to provide properly for the spiritual wants of Illinois, the territory should be under his immediate jurisdiction, especially as the Mississippi River and its eastern tributaries formed the only highways of travel. On June 25 Bishop Rosati answers a letter of Bishop Flaget, then the Ordinary of Illinois: "I concur with your opinion that the limits of my diocese should be fixed at the 12th degree of longitude west of Washington. I also desire that the line be continued further north."¹³ This arrangement was ultimately approved by Rome June 17, 1834, in the following words: "The diocese of St. Louis comprises the state of Missouri, together with the territory called Arkansas and, until the Holy See decrees otherwise, it shall include the territory also on the west side of the Mississippi (i. e., Iowa). The diocese, then, of Vincennes shall comprise the state of Indiana together with a part of Illinois, to-wit: let a straight line be drawn from Fort Massac (36 miles above the junction of Ohio and Mississippi), along the east boundaries of the counties, Johnson, Franklin, Jefferson, Marion, Fayette, Shelby and Marion as far as the Rapids of the Illinois River, which are about eight miles above the city of Ottawa in the County of La Salle, and thence up to the northern limits of the state so that the part of Illinois lying west of this line shall belong to the diocese of St. Louis, the eastern part, however, to the diocese of Vincennes."¹⁴ By this decree Chicago was

¹³ *A History of Illinois*, by Gov. Thomas Ford, Chicago, 1854.

¹⁴ *Bishop Rosati's Letter-Book*.

placed under the jurisdiction of Bishop Simon William Gabriel Bruté; nevertheless this rising metropolis of the West was, at least for a time, to be administered by a priest from St. Louis, Father John Mary Irenaeus St. Cyr. Indeed there was a movement to place all the State of Illinois under the jurisdiction of St. Louis, but it failed through the strenuous opposition of Bishop England's party in the American hierarchy.¹⁵

Concerning Father St. Cyr's activities in Chicago we will give but a brief resumé: referring our readers to the important article, *Early Catholicity in Chicago*, by Father G. J. Garraghan, S. J., in the July and October numbers of this REVIEW for 1918. And first of all there is the announcement made by Bishop Rosati to Bishop Flaget that he would provide for Chicago:

April 17, 1833.

Having received a petition of the Catholics of Chicago, who regarded me as their diocesan bishop and demanded of me a priest, showing the danger of losing a concession of two thousand acres of land which the chiefs of the Pottawatomies, with the consent of the government, have made to the Catholic Church, by virtue of the powers of Vicar-General, which you have given me, I will send Mr. St. Cyr, but on condition that, until the limits of the diocese are fixed, I can recall him.¹⁶

Bishop Flaget was well pleased to be relieved of the care of such

¹⁵ The original text of the decree, as given in the Bull *Apostolicae Sedis* of Gregory XVI, dated June 17, 1834, is as follows: "Diocesis Seti-Ludovici complectatur provinciam Missouri una cum territorio dicto Arkansas et, donec aliud a Seta Sede statuatur, habebit quoque territorium ad Occidentalem plagam fluminis Mississippi. Diocesis denique Vincennopolitana comprehendet provinciam Indiana una cum parte Illinois, et proprie ab Castello Massac ducatur linea recta per fines Orientales comitatum Johnson, Franklin, Jefferson, Marion, Fayette, Shelby et Macon usque ad magna fluentia fluminis Illinois, quae sunt ad octo millia passuum supra oppidum Ottawa in comitatu Lasalle, et hinc usque ad Septentrionalem provinciae finem adeo ut pars Occidentalis lineae provinciae Illinois pertineat ad dioecesim Seti-Ludovici, pars vero Orientalis ad dioecesim Vincennopolitanam omnino spectet." MS. in Archives of St. Louis.

¹⁶ The impression at this time was that Bishop Rosati desired to have the entire state of Illinois placed under his jurisdiction. Bishop Flaget states that, "Bishop Rosati exercises his jurisdiction upon a vast tract of the Illinois, but he has never determined the line where he ceases exercising his administration." Baltimore seemed favorable to his claims. But Bishop England, together with Bishop Rese of Detroit, and Bishop Dubois of New York, formed a party as against the followers of the Archbishop of Baltimore. The fact that only two-thirds and not the whole of the State of Illinois was placed under Bishop Rosati of St. Louis in 1834, is owing to the exertions of Bishop England. Of course, all were working for the good of the Church as they saw it.

a distant mission; and Father St. Cyr started on horseback for his appointed place on April 18th, arriving there May 1, 1833. It is well known that Father St. Cyr was the first priest to reside in Chicago, the founder of its first parish, St. Mary's, and therefore the principal data concerning his life and priestly activity are, no doubt, a cherished tradition among the people of the great city of the lakes. To the writer of this article Father St. Cyr is a sacred memory. It was in 1878 that I, as a seminary student, visited the blind old man, the last link then left connecting the heroic days of Bishop Du Bourg and Rosati with the living, progressive present, in his retreat at Nazareth Convent. He was a man of small stature, with hands and face of a translucent whiteness, as of pure wax. Being unable to read the Ordinary of the Mass, he was permitted to say the Votive Mass of the Blessed Virgin every day. And I was told he did so regularly with the assistance of another priest. Little did I know then of the importance of this feeble old man in his earlier days; but his presence impressed me as that of a saint, the bright sun of whose soul was breaking through the thin veil of the body containing it.

Father John Mary Irenaeus St. Cyr was born at Guineie on the Rhone on November 2, 1803.¹⁷ He made his classical, philosophical and theological studies at Lyons. Minor Orders and subdeaconship at the hands of Msgr. P. P. Saston, Apostolic Administrator of Lyons. He started for the American missions and arrived in St. Louis on August 1, 1831. The expense of the journey, as he himself

"That there was a good foundation for Bishop Rosati's hope that a concession of 2000 acres of land was made by the chiefs of the Pottawatomi is evident from the letter of the Indian Agent at Chicago:

To A. H. Taylor, Esq.,
Chicago.

"On the petition of some of the principal chiefs of the Potawatomi Tribe of Indians to the President of the United States, permission was given to them, to donate to the Roman Catholic Church four sections of land on the Desplaines or Chicago Rivers near the town of Chicago for the purpose of establishing a Seminary of Learning."

TH. J. V. OWEN, Indian Agent.

In regard to this matter Father St. Cyr wrote in June, 1833: "As to the land which the Indian Chiefs are reported to have promised, we cannot count on it, seeing that Rev. Mr. Badin, to whom the Indians made the promise, did not fulfill the conditions of the contract", i. e., "the building of a Catholic Church, for their own use, however."

Originals of these letters in the Archives of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.

tells us, was \$25.87. After eighteen months spent in studying the English language, he was ordained priest in the Cathedral of St. Louis by Bishop Rosati on April 6, 1833, and appointed that same month to the missions of Chicago and its surroundings. Father St. Cyr was most kindly received by the people of Chicago, especially by the Beaubien family, a member of which, Jean Baptiste Beaubien, donated a lot of ground for Church purposes. At first Mass was said in a log-hut, but the building of a chapel, subsequently called St. Mary's, was immediately undertaken. It was completed by October, 1833, so that services could be held in it, though the dedication was deferred until 1834. But prior to this joyful event Father St. Cyr returned to St. Louis, not for the purpose of staying there, as the good people of Chicago feared, but in order to beg some funds for the maintenance of a school, which he intended to found near his church. After a brief visit to the Barrens to his old friend Father Tornatore, Father St. Cyr spent Christmastide in St. Louis and returned to Chicago. In August, 1834, he is back once more in St. Louis, probably for the consecration of the new Cathedral and the consecration of Bishop Simon William Gabriel Bruté, the first Bishop of Vincennes, whose diocese included the eastern part of Illinois, with Chicago. Naturally, Father St. Cyr did not wish to leave the diocese of St. Louis, but at the urgent request of Bishop Bruté and with the consent of Bishop Rosati, he returned once more to Chicago to remain there until September 2, 1837. Father St. Cyr preached in French and English and had sufficient knowledge of German to meet the humble requirements of the scattered German Catholics.

From Chicago Father St. Cyr visited, in the early spring of 1834, the settlements on Sugar Creek, Bear Creek, South Fork, and at Springfield. He advises Bishop Rosati to make Springfield in Sangamon the center of a permanent mission for these places. To these parts Father St. Cyr was preceded only by the Jesuit missionary Charles S. Van Quickenborne, whose baptisms in Sangamon County are the earliest on record.

When Father St. Cyr was invited to Chicago in 1832, the city contained about two hundred souls, thirty-seven of whom signed the petition to Bishop Rosati; in 1837, the year of his recall, the number had grown to "more than two thousand; with a large number of Catholic families in the adjacent country, particularly on the line of the Chicago and Illinois Canal." There were 143 signers to the petition of June 9, 1837, asking for the retention of Father St. Cyr in Chicago.

Archbishop Ireland's judgment on the character of Chicago's first resident priest may conclude our brief sketch of his life and labors in Chicago. We shall meet him again in Central Illinois. "Father St. Cyr," says Archbishop, "was a priest of the diocese of St. Louis, from which in early days the scattered Catholics of Southern Illinois received ministerial attention. He was a remarkable man, intelligent to a very high degree, most zealous in work, most holy in life. He held in vivid recollection the story of the Church in olden times through Missouri and Illinois. It was a delight and a means of most valuable information to sit by and converse with him."¹⁸

After this wide detour, that drew into our circle the chief city of Northern Illinois and, we may add, the chief city of the western half of North America, we must now return to our redoubtable missionary, Father Peter Paul Lefevere of St. Paul's on Salt River, Missouri, and the outlying settlements within a radius, north to east, of about two hundred miles. From his last two letters we gained some idea of the labors, exertions and dangers of his wandering life; in the next letter we catch a glimpse of the good father's tender heart:

SALT RIVER TOWNSHIP, December 3, 1834.

RIGHT REVEREND SIR—I take the liberty of writing to you these lines of recommendation in behalf of two poor helpless children of the late William Carter, deceased. This gentleman was loved and respected by all who knew him, for honesty and neighborly qualities. Being left a widower with three sons by the death of his companion, who was and died a sincere Catholic, he had continual hard striving to support his family, and though of good morals, he never professed any religion until his last sickness, when he urgently called on me and expressed a sincere desire of becoming a member of the Catholic Church. After a previous instruction proportioned to the ill state of his health, I administered to him the sacrament of Baptism, which he received with the liveliest sentiments of piety and devotion, and of compunction and sorrow for his past life. The next day, when he departed this life, his dying words and

¹⁸ As to the date of Father St. Cyr's birth there seems to be a slight discrepancy among authorities. The Rev. John F. Kempker sent us a transcript of a Memorial Card with this inscription:

"REV. J. M. J. ST. CYR

Born near Lyons, France, January 2, 1804."

Father St. Cyr's letter to John Wentworth dated Carondelet, Mo., January 19, 1880, as given by Frank Beaubien in the *ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW*, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 105, states: "I was born in France on the 2nd day of November, 1803, in the Department of the Rhone, in the Archdiocese of Lyons."

The Records of our Chancery give the date as November 2, 1803. November 2, 1803 is correct as will be seen by baptismal record and birth certificate published in *ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW* for January, 1920, p. 324.

wishes were, that I should take care of the children and see they be instructed in their Christian duties. It is certainly a most heartfelt sorrow for me to see that I am not able of myself to comply with the dying wishes of this gentleman; and I would willingly sacrifice anything I have in the world in order to raise these children and to educate them in a Christianlike manner; more especially because I see many good qualities and dispositions in these children. But not being able to do anything of myself, these poor children are now real objects of pity. Their father has not left a cent for their support; their relations are all poor and generally of no religion; if they must be raised by them, they will undoubtedly be miserable for soul and body. The best and only means, then, I know is to recommend the two oldest of them to your care and protection, and solicit their reception into the Orphan Asylum. Their grandmother will take care of the youngest, which is but three years old. The oldest of them is about ten, and the other eight years old. They would be bound to you, or to their superior's disposition until the age of maturity. If I could, as I trust I shall, receive an affirmative answer by Christmas, I would send them down, as there will be an occasion by that time. It seems to me that God places these children into your hands, either to rear them to the holy ministry, or to cause generations to be born in the pale of His Church; and undoubtedly their own salvation or eternal damnation depends, in a great measure, on their being received or not.

I am with deep respect, Right Revd. Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

PETER P. LEFEVERE.

In his next two letters Father Lefevere reinforces his former request in regard to the orphan children, adding some pleasant news about recent conversions and expressing the hope of having the Bishop at Salt River some day in the near future for the purpose of confirmation.

(To be Continued)

REV. JOHN ROTHENSTEINER.

St. Louis.

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY IN THE MAKING

I.

For three days, from the twenty-third to the twenty-seventh of November, 1674, Jacques Marquette, Jesuit missionary-explorer and discoverer of the Mississippi, in the course of a journey from Green Bay to the land of the Kaskaskia, camped at the mouth of the Milwaukee River. It was the first recorded visit of a white man to the locality where the metropolis of Wisconsin rises today in queenly splendor. A few touches in the missionary's *Journal* emphasize the bleakness of the scene that met his gaze on the memorable occasion. It was bitter cold, a foot of snow was on the ground, and as he strained his gaze over the blue waters of Lake Michigan, he noted that there were "great shoals over which the waves broke continually." Having thus lifted the site of Milwaukee out of pre-historic darkness into the light of authentic human record, Marquette pressed on in the eventful quest for souls that was to bring him to his grave. During his three days' stay at the mouth of the Milwaukee River, civilization and that locality had met for the first time in mutual embrace. Accordingly, fitting is it beyond all measure that Milwaukee's leading educational institution should go back for its name to the heroic missionary-explorer who thus stood upon its site nearly two hundred and fifty years ago. In name as in actual historical beginnings, Marquette University links up with all that is venerable as it links up with all that is of distinction and high repute in the life-story of the city of Milwaukee.¹

Twenty-four years later than Marquette's voyage down the west shore of Lake Michigan, a party of Canadian missionaries arrived at the Indian village of "Milouakik." Of Fathers Montigny, D'Avion and St. Cosme much of fascinating interest could here be written, were this the place for it, so remarkable was the path they blazed through our early Western history as they made their way from Canada to the Lower Mississippi. In October, 1698, they were at "Milouakik," as St. Cosme tells us in his *Relation*, the next white visitors after Marquette to set foot on the site of the future city

¹ Louise Phelps Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699*, New York, 1917, p. 246.

and the first to give its name a place in written history. Some days later they were in Chicago, guests of the Jesuit missionaries of that place, whose residence was probably near the forks of the River, in what is now the seething center of the business district of the fourth city of the world. December the eighth found them on the right bank of the Mississippi directly across from the Tamarois village, on ground that is now within the city-limits of St. Louis; and here, on the day commemorative of the Virgin Mother's Immaculate Conception, they celebrated Mass, the first incident of authentic record identified with the site of the metropolis of Missouri.²

It wanted but three years of a century since Father Montigny's party of 1698 passed across the marshes where Milwaukee was to rise in later years, when Jean Baptiste Mirandean settled there as the first white inhabitant. Solomon Juneau came in 1818 and in 1835, with his partners, Morgan L. Martin and Michael Dousman of Green Bay, laid out the village of Milwaukee on a government land-claim that lay between the Milwaukee River and the Lake. In a clearing made in the dense tamarack-swamps that overlay much of the claim the first houses were built, somewhere along the line of the present Chestnut Street. Immediately west of the river, Byron Kilbourn, a New Englander, entered in 1835 three hundred acres of land, on which was platted the village of Kilbourntown, while south of the river George H. Walker, an Indian trader, erected a trading-post on land that became known as "Walker's Point." The three settlements coalesced in time to form a single community, the names of Juneau, Kilbourn and Walker being sometimes linked together as co-founders of the city of Milwaukee. But to Solomon Juneau belongs by common accord the distinction of being Milwaukee's "first pioneer citizen." "It was he who made the first survey of the village, who became its first president, was the first

²"We left on the 5th and after being windbound for two days, we started and after two days of heavy wind we reached Milouakik on the 9th. This is a river where there is a village which has been a large one, consisting of Mascoutins, of Renards and also of some Poux. We stayed here two days partly on account of the wind and partly to recruit our men a little because there is an abundance of duck and teal in the river." Kellogg, *op. cit.*, p. 345. Claude Allouez, veteran Jesuit missionary, canoed down the west shore of Lake Michigan in the Spring of 1677, passing the Milwaukee River, though there is no evidence of his having landed there. However, his party probably went ashore at Whitefish Bay, a few miles north of Milwaukee. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relation*, 60: 155, 320.

postmaster, donated the first public square and later on, when the village had grown to a city, was its first mayor."³

As the civic, so the ecclesiastical beginnings of Milwaukee centre around the name of Solomon Juneau. Organized Catholicity in the place dates from 1837. Father Bernard Schaeffer, a priest of Alsatian birth, resident in Chicago, was the first clergyman known to have visited Juneau's Settlement.⁴ He baptized there, April 27, 1837, Matilda, a daughter of Juneau by the latter's wife, Josette Vieau. In August of the same year, Father Fleurimont Bonduel, a missionary from Green Bay, said Mass on Sunday in Juneau's home on East Water Street where the Mitchell Building now stands. The following autumn Father Patrick Kelly, under instructions from the Bishop of Detroit, arrived in Milwaukee to become its first resident priest. Before that same year, 1837, had run its course, Solomon Juneau had offered property on Martin Street, near Jackson, on which was to be built the first church, St. Peter's, finished in 1839.⁵ It remained the only Catholic church in Milwaukee until the building of St. Mary's in 1847 and for some years after the arrival of Bishop Henni served as his Cathedral. Of Catholicity in Milwaukee, as he found it in 1842, Father Martin Kundig, distinguished missionary of his day, has left us this pleasant account:

The Milwaukee parish (German and English); services for both classes, as I have already informed you. The French have now united with the English. The Boys' and Girls' Schools, the Church-Building Society, the Sunday School, the Temperance Union as well as the Men's and Women's Unions, witness to a zeal and self-sacrifice, the superior of which you will find nowhere else. Oh, that you had been here on Christmas morning and seen the lighting-up of the church and the throngs of people. Everybody is longing for

³ *Memoirs of Milwaukee County*, Western Historical Association, Madison, 1909, 1: 239.

⁴ *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 1: 170, art. "Early Catholicity in Chicago." "Father Schaeffer's baptisms, as entered in the St. Mary's Register (St. Mary's Parish, Chicago), range from September 5, 1836, to July 24, 1837. They include five administered on the same day, April 20, 1837, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Baptized on this occasion by Father Schaeffer were Matilda, daughter of Solomon Juneau and Josetta Vieau, and Margaret Klark, 'sixteen years of age, born amongst the Indians.' These appear to be the earliest Milwaukee baptisms on record." The statement appearing in some accounts that Father Bonduel said the first Mass in Milwaukee, August, 1837, calls for revision in view of Father Schaeffer's visit of April 20, 1837, on which occasion there is every reason to suppose that he celebrated Mass.

⁵ *Memoirs of Milwaukee County*, 1:331.

a new church as the old one can hold only a fifth of the congregation.*

Meantime a great tide of emigration, chiefly from Ireland and Germany was gradually peopling the Middle Western States with Catholic settlers. Wisconsin Territory, attached to the Diocese of Detroit on the erection of the latter in 1833, was now to be organized into a separate ecclesiastical unit. Together with those of Chicago, Hartford and Little Rock, the diocese of Milwaukee was erected November 28, 1843, and Father John Martin Henni, Vicar-General to Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati, named as its first incumbent. He received consecration in St. Peter's Cathedral, Cincinnati, at the hands of Bishop Purcell, on March 19, 1844, there being in attendance at the ceremony the venerable Bishop Flaget, the "patriarch of the West" and the oldest living member of the Catholic hierarchy in the United States.

When Bishop Henni arrived in Milwaukee, May 4, 1844, there were but four priests in the entire range of his diocese, which counted about 20,000 Catholics out of a population of 70,000 for the state. St. Peter's, the only church for Milwaukee Catholics, was enlarged in the summer of 1844 to a length of 92 feet and its interior remodeled and renovated with such effect that on the testimony of Father Heiss, the Bishop's secretary, the application to it of the term "cathedral" was not as incongruous as one might be tempted to believe. But a more seemly edifice for the principal church of the diocese soon became a necessity; and so, on December 5, 1847, Bishop Henni laid the foundation-stone of a new cathedral, to be erected under the title of St. John on property facing the Court-house square. As planned, the structure was to be 155 feet long, 75 wide and 50 high with a tower of 210 feet. It was useless to look to the struggling and for the most poverty-pinched Catholics of his diocese to meet even a moderate part of the cost of this elaborate house of worship. The Bishop accordingly determined to avail himself of a projected visit to Rome to appeal to the generosity of the Catholics of Europe in behalf of his Cathedral and other needs of his diocese. Crossing the Atlantic he reached Southampton in England, March 4, 1848. He found Europe ablaze with revolution. Louis Philippe was in exile, the Republic had been proclaimed in Paris, Berlin and Vienna were in the throes of revolution and clouds

* Marty, O. S. B., *Dr. Johann Martin Henni, erster Bischof und Erzbischof von Milwaukee*, p. 151.

of war hung menacingly over the entire continent. It was amid this wide-spread political upheaval that Marquette University was born.⁷

II.

In the path of the revolutionary disorders which thus broke out in Paris in the spring of 1848 and spread with unexpected rapidity over continental Europe, numerous Jesuit houses were suddenly closed and their communities dispersed. The Province of Upper Germany was for the moment swept away. Forced on a sudden to make a summary disposition of his men, Father Anthony Minoux, the Provincial, conceived the plan of sending his theological students with their professors to America, there to open a temporary house of studies. To Father John Elet, Rector of St. Xavier's College, Cincinnati, who was at the time in Europe, having just attended a meeting of Jesuit Procurators in Rome, Father Minoux wrote from Antwerp, May 16, 1848:

Father Ehrensberger arrived today as advance-guard of a party of forty-two or forty-five of our men who are to leave here on the 26th of this month or thereabouts. Father Ehrensberger will rejoin Father Hubner without delay, in order to acquaint him with my plans and to take measures with him, as Father Hubner in turn will take measures with you, for the reception and further transportation of my colony. It is nearly my entire scholasticate with its professors and spiritual father. My plan is to reassemble them somewhere so as to preserve their religious spirit and enable them to pursue their studies in due form. It is a matter of supreme importance and I must realize my purpose at all costs. I count fully on help from on high. Heaven will come to my aid, as it came to my aid in furnishing means of transportation for so numerous a colony.⁸

The exiles, forty-one in number, left Antwerp June 1, 1848, on board a sailing-vessel, the *Providence*, which had been chartered for the voyage. It had been used for freight service only, and, as a consequence, proper accommodations for the travellers were lacking. The hold was hastily fitted out for the use of the seminarians, called scholastics in Jesuit parlance. The captain, a Belgian, was found to be inexperienced and the crew was rough and unreliable, while at the outset a drunken pilot nearly ran the vessel on a rock as she

⁷ Marty, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

⁸ The Minoux letters and other unpublished correspondence embodied in this sketch are in the archives of St. Louis University. Extracts from the Minoux correspondence are translations from the French originals.

put out from the Scheldt. The *Providence* was forty-five days in covering the distance between Antwerp and New York. That was a longer stay on the ocean than the captain had counted on, and as a result, the food-supply ran low. Down in the hatches the scholastics fell sick one after another until the place took on the appearance of a general hospital. Father Anthony Behrens, who had been commissioned by Father Minoux to act as Superior of the party during the voyage, outdid himself in unselfish, unwearying attention to the sick and suffering. He had laid in a stock of dried fruit on his own account before the vessel left Antwerp and was thus enabled out of his private store to relieve in some degree the distress caused by the meagre and unhealthy diet provided by the ship's cook in the last days at sea. To add to the wretched experience, there were violent storms in the ship's path, in one of which her main-mast was carried away. The *Providence* at length put into New York harbor. On reaching land most of the crew deserted which made it necessary for four of the scholastics to stand guard on the wharf to watch the vessel and its contents. None of the party seem to have known any English and Father Behrens was hard put to it trying to get trunks and cases through the Custom House.

The end of the voyage revealed a situation which came as a shock to the emigrant Jesuits. Their coming had not been announced. Father Ignatius Brocard, Provincial of Maryland, wrote to Father De Smet July 4th: "A numerous party from the Province of Upper Germany is on the water, bound for America. They will be at New York before this letter reaches you; consequently it is useless to ask if you know their destination. It is said they intend to organize an independent colony, but no one seems to know where." Whether through oversight or delayed transmission of the mails, the Jesuits in New York City had not been notified in advance of the coming of the German exiles. The whole movement, in fact, had been planned in great haste and without due appreciation of the difficulties that would attend it, a circumstance due to the confused situation in the Province of Upper Germany, following upon the sudden dispersal of its various communities. As soon, however, as the presence of the exiles in America became known, Father Brocard hastened to tender them the hospitality of Georgetown College. A number of them repaired thither, while a still larger number, continuing their journey westward, found shelter in St. Louis University.

From Issenheim in Germany where a novitiate had been opened, Father Minoux wrote to Father Elet, who had recently been appointed Vice-Provincial of Missouri:

It is sad news indeed that I have about the arrival of my last contingent in New York. A very distressing voyage with suffering and every sort of privation and a landing more distressing still. However, *Quod factum est infectum fieri nequit* [what is done cannot be undone]. Special circumstances led me to despatch this numerous party before receiving Father Hubner's letter. Father Ehrensberger gave him personal instructions as to their departure and the approximate time of their arrival. Meanwhile Father Brunner arrived. I was hoping that once the party were on their way, at least some preparation would be made to receive them and to direct them to some particular place, seeing that Father Brunner and also Father Hubner had judged my plan to be impracticable. Happily Father Brocard had compassion on my poor wayfarers and received a goodly number of them. Perhaps I come too late with my measures. Father Hubner must have laid my plan before you. I thought it a very modest one. I merely had in mind to establish a scholasticate under my charge, say in Chicago or Milwaukee, and thus be free to recall my scholastics to Europe as soon as the need should arise; then in the course of time would follow a small college and some missions. With Father General's authority and consent, I had made Father Brunner Superior of this colonization project, and had provided the scholastics with good professors, spiritual fathers, etc. What has become of the project? God seems to will otherwise and my will is His.

Another letter from Minoux to Elet followed July 29, 1848:

"I must have caused you a good deal of trouble by the arrival of such a numerous party. This elaborate and extemporised expedition was brought about by circumstances which it was scarcely in my power to control. Your prudence and charity will devise means with which to clear up this chaos of things and persons. I thank you immensely for the offer made to Father Hubner to give us two of your scholastics to help us in case we settle down in Milwaukee and to admit some twelve of my scholastics into your seminary. As I cannot give up Europe, I always look to having a mother-house whence I can draw at need the necessary help. Has God other designs? I submit to them in all reverence. Mgr. Henni of Milwaukee has offered me his hospital as a residence and place of shelter for my children.* Is this agreeable to you? I have seen Very Rev. Father General, our Assistant, and Father Villefort. It might be desirable to find a point of conjunction with the Rocky Mountains. Would that be possible from Wisconsin Territory?

Meantime, despite the disturbed state of Europe, Bishop Henni of Milwaukee was moving about on the Continent in his efforts to

* St. John's Infirmary in Milwaukee was opened by the Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg, May 15, 1848.

enlist clerical workers and gather funds for his poverty-stricken diocese. Having met Father Minoux the prelate proposed to him the starting of a college in his diocese; but the latter declined the proposal as he lacked the necessary means for such a venture. Some time later a liberal financial offer to Bishop Henni from an unexpected quarter put a new color on the project of a college in Wisconsin. Under date of January 18, 1849, Father Minoux wrote from Munich to Father Elet:

Mgr. Henni of Milwaukee has just announced to Father Muller, the chaplain, the good news that he has obtained at Antwerp from the Baron de Boey the sum of 70 to 75,000 francs with which to found a college in his diocese and that he is to return here to confer with me on the measures to be taken for realizing this important plan and to ask of me the men necessary for the purpose.

I have just now written to Mgr. that since I have entrusted my subjects to your Reverence as well as to Rev. Father Brocard, and since the establishment in prospect lies in your territory, it is to you that I must ask him to apply for a definite settlement of the affair in hand: and hence any interview between us (the Bishop and myself) for the purpose of discussing it would be useless.

I accordingly leave this affair, which appears to me providential, fully and entirely in your hands. It is yours to judge whether it be proper for me to undertake this new establishment, which, non-existent as yet, would leave me time to form my subjects in a way to enable them to begin work perhaps with their own resources and without calling on you for aid. You cannot fail to see how helpful it would be for me to have a temporary foot-hold for my province. I will earnestly pray that the holy will of God be perfectly accomplished.

III.

The project of a college in Milwaukee, first conceived in the mind of Bishop Henni, had now found a material basis on which to rest. It is high time that we rescue from the almost complete oblivion into which the passing of the years has suffered it to lapse, the name of M. Guillaume Joseph Count de Boey of Antwerp, whose gift of 75,000 francs was destined to become the starting-point on its material side of Marquette University.¹⁰ Unfortunately there is an almost complete absence of data to enable us to sketch his career or fix the outstanding traits of his personality. Yet the few glimpses that we do catch of him in letters of the period show him in every

¹⁰ In contemporary letters he is styled variously as Chevalier, Count, and Baron, but in most cases as plain Monsieur.

instance in the role of the Catholic layman zealous for the cause of religion and lavish of his temporal means to further its designs. To the Society of Jesus he had, on the testimony of Father De Smet, been a benefactor even before the re-establishment of the Society in Belgium in 1814.¹¹ In particular to his Jesuit countrymen of the Mission of Missouri established by them in 1823 he gave munificently, intensely interested as he was in the various activities, especially educational, in which they were engaged in the New World on behalf of white and Indian alike. With a group of friends he formed a partnership to raise funds for the Missouri Mission by methods singularly modern. "For the benefit of our dear Missions in America," wrote one of their number, M. De Nef, to a Jesuit of Missouri:

I have formed a sort of company with my honorable friends, MM. De Boey, Le Paige and the Proost brothers of Antwerp. The plan is this: we buy stocks in different countries with the understanding that the loss, if such there be, shall be for us to bear, while a good share of the profits, should such be realized, shall go to our cherished Mission in America, to the end that our speculations made with such purpose in view may produce abundant fruit to the glory of God.¹²

The gifts that found their way from M. De Boey to his Jesuit friends in Missouri, were of the most varied character. On October 16, 1837, the bark Paoli, Captain Rangard, left Antwerp for America, having in its cargo eleven boxes consigned to St. Louis University. Seven of them were the gift of Count De Boey. Among the articles they contained were flutes, violins, chasubles, albs, surplices, chalices, books, porcelain vases, crucifixes and geometrical instruments.¹³ Conspicuous among De Boey's gifts to St. Louis University was a richly embroidered silken banner, *le drapeau d' Harmonie*, behind which the students were often to march in procession through the streets of the city.¹⁴ It was largely with money contributed by the same Belgian benefactor to the amount of 10,000 florins that the first University chapel was erected in 1836 on Washington Avenue.¹⁵ Again, Father Van de Velde in the course of a business trip through

¹¹ De Smet à De Staercke, Mai 7, 1849.

¹² *Le Pere Theodore de Theux, de la Compaigne de Jesus et la la Mission Belge du Missouri*, Roulers, 1913, p. 105.

¹³ Joseph Proost à De Smet, Oct. 18, 1837. A letter of De Boey's to Father De Smet, S. J., under date of September 2, 1837, inquires as to the best arrangement for forwarding his contributions to America.

¹⁴ *Litterae Annuae Missionis Missouriianae*, 1837.

¹⁵ *Ledger of Missouri Mission*. Archives of Missouri Province, S. J.

Belgium in 1842 negotiated a loan from M. De Boey of 100,000 francs. Dying in 1850, the lender in his last will and testament transferred his claim to the debt to the General of the Society of Jesus, Father Roothaan, who in turn remitted the debt in favor of the Missouri Mission.¹⁶ Such were some of the benefactions of an illustrious Belgian citizen to his Jesuit countrymen of Western America. A happy inspiration it was that led Father De Smet, distinguished path-finder of the Oregon country, to name a fine inland body of water in the Northwest Lake De Boey in grateful recognition of one to whom he and his associates of the Mission of Missouri were in a very signal manner indebted.¹⁷

IV.

With the pledge of financial assistance made by De Boey to Bishop Henni to enable the prelate to build a college in his diocese we are here especially concerned; and we proceed to chronicle the successive steps that led to the realization of this educational project.

January 27, 1849, about a week later than the date of Father Minoux's letter to Father Elet announcing the De Boey gift, Father Roothaan, General of the Society of Jesus, wrote to Father Elet on the same subject:

The object of my letter of to-day is this. Even before Father Minoux had despatched his subjects to America, Mgr. Henni, Bishop of Milwaukee, had asked him for men with whom to start a college at Milwaukee. The plan, however, could not be put into execution because Mgr. was without sufficient funds for the support of the personnel. But now, according to a letter just received from Father Minoux, Mgr. Henni has recently informed him of his having found a benefactor who promised the sum of 75,000 francs to carry out the project of the college in question. Fifteen thousand francs of this are already at hand to put up the necessary buildings.

As this place happens to lie within the limits of your province, Father Minoux will conclude nothing with Mgr. without your consent and even without your intervention. Moreover, as he cannot be present on the ground to examine sites and other things which

¹⁶ "I have the consolation to inform you that M. De Boey having left at my disposition the claim which he had on the Province of Missouri, I remit it entirely in your favor, on condition that you spend the equivalent of the revenue of this sum for the benefit of the Indian missions immediately dependent on you, either by lending them effective aid or by training up recruits for the missions in question." Roothaan à Elet, 18 April, 1850.

¹⁷ Chittenden and Richardson's *De Smet*, 2:457, 462.

prudence requires us to know before taking an establishment in hand, he will ask you to be so good as to negotiate this affair in his name.

Two things, therefore, are expected from your charity: 1. That you permit the province of Upper Germany to acquire this new establishment and to hold it as its own. 2. That you kindly lend your services to negotiate the affair in question.¹⁸

There were difficulties, however, in the way of a college at Milwaukee which Father Elet felt it necessary to bring to the notice of the Provincial of Upper Germany.

I am infinitely grateful to you, (Father Minoux wrote in reply) for the details which you had the kindness to communicate to me in regard to the Milwaukee affair and I congratulate myself that I did not enter at once into negotiations with Mgr. Henni, despite the most pressing invitation. I am entirely free in this matter as you are, for in my letters to his Lordship I constantly referred him to you. I thank you at the same time for the generous offer you make me of two houses in Kentucky and for the hopes held out to us by the new Bishop of Chicago. I have acquainted Rev. Father General with your proposals and shall await the expression of his will in the case, which I shall make known to you as soon as communicated to me. . . . What do you think of the health of good Father Friedrich? Will he stand the hot climate of St. Louis? Might it not be best to try a change of climate or perhaps to send him back to Europe? I also commend to your fatherly care the excellent Father Anderledy, whom I had to recall from Rome on account of the excessive heat which he found insupportable.

Father Elet's offer to Father Minoux of two Jesuit establishments in Kentucky, apparently St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, and St. Aloysius College, Louisville, was eventually declined. The Superior of Upper Germany had reached the conclusion not to attempt a college at all in America. "A residence in Wisconsin might be a good thing, but without any engagement to accept a college." In June, 1850, he was still of the same mind. "I can readily believe that the Milwaukee enterprise is postponed indefinitely. By this time you know my subjects in America; you must realize accordingly that we shall not be in a position at once to place ourselves at the head of a college and direct it."

V.

The Jesuit Vice-Province of Missouri was reinforced in the forties by a group of Jesuits of the Province of Austria, of whom

¹⁸ Bouthaen à Elet, 27 Janvier, 1849.

Fathers John Hofbauer and Joseph Patschowsky came to America in 1846, Fathers Francis Kalcher and Martin Seisl in 1847 and Fathers Christopher Genelli and Francis Xavier Weninger in 1848. In the spring of 1848, Fathers Joseph Weber and Francis Xavier Wipperfurth and Mr. Tschieder, of the Province of Upper Germany, the last-named still unordained, reached Missouri. They were followed in the summer of the same year by the greater part of Father Behren's party who had made the eventful voyage in the *Providence*. Altogether, the German exiles who found a home in the Missouri Vice-Province, numbered thirteen Fathers, nine scholastics and nine lay-brothers.

In the view taken by Father Elet as to the inexpediency of opening a college in Milwaukee, the Provincial of Upper Germany had readily acquiesced. Later, however, the question appears to have presented itself to Father Elet in a different light, for in July, 1849, he visited Milwaukee and there conferred with Bishop Henni in regard to the latter's plan for a college in that city under Jesuit auspices. In the following month he despatched Father Anderledy to Milwaukee to execute the plan. Father Anderledy, General of the Society of Jesus to be, was a native of Beresal, Canton Wallis, Switzerland. Not yet ordained when he reached St. Louis in 1848, he was on September 27 of that year raised to the priesthood in that city by Archbishop Kenrick, after which he continued his theological studies for a year at St. Louis University, discharging at the same time the duties of catechist and confessor to the students. Father Anderledy and his companion, Father Frederick Hubner, carried with them a memorandum of instructions drawn up and signed by Father Elet, under date of August 17, 1849.

A memorandum for Fathers Hubner and Anderledy on the eve of their journey to Wisconsin:

1. M. de Boey has pledged himself to give 75,000 francs for the future college in Milwaukee. This college is to belong to the Province of Upper Germany.
2. Rev. Father Brunner has been appointed Superior and Rev. Father Hubner Procurator of the house by Very Rev. Father General. For the first-named I substitute, for the present, Rev. Father Anderledy in everything regarding studies.
3. With the sanction of Very Rev. Father General and Rev. Father Minoux, I authorize Father Anderledy to summon from the Georgetown scholasticate as many scholastics, the choice to be left to himself, of the number of those who have finished their Philosophy, as he shall judge necessary to carry on the work required of him in Milwaukee.
4. Care must be taken in selling the property lately acquired by Bishop Henni

- for the Province of Upper Germany that the act of sale be not illegal and void on whatsoever account. In many states of this Union only American citizens can hold real estate.
5. Bishop Henni has promised, on the completion of the new Cathedral, to turn over the old one *in perpetuity* to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus as a parochial church.
 6. Pending the opening of the College, Bishop Henni provides for the support of Ours in Milwaukee, and will be at liberty to employ their services either in the Seminary or elsewhere in the ministry.
 7. I think a beginning should be made with a day and not with a boarding school. The first must be in the city itself, the other outside of the city, but at no great distance, (Walker's Point).
 8. Let the *Minervalia* which in virtue of a dispensation we may licitly accept, be fixed by local circumstances, etc.
 9. It will be necessary, on arriving at your destination, to write at once to Rev. Father Minoux and to M. de Boey, or to Rev. Father Hessels, Rector of the College of Notre Dame at Antwerp.²⁰

In Milwaukee Fathers Anderledy and Hubner were joined by Father Joseph Brunner, who was to be Superior of the projected college. Father Hubner's arrival in the city was followed in a few days by his sickness and death. A letter from Father Anderledy to Father Elet, dated Milwaukee, September 11, 1849, conveyed tidings of the unexpected event:

I sent to your Reverence by a telegraphic despatch, the very sad news of the death of Father Frederick Hubner. On the 8th of September, immediately after preaching in the church of the Blessed Virgin, I went to see him. He told me that besides fever he was now troubled with dysentery. The physicians declared there was no immediate danger. He requested me, however, to hear a general confession of his whole life. This being finished, he earnestly besought me to administer to him the sacrament of Extreme Unction, the Viaticum and the general absolution before he would be deprived of the use of his senses. He also begged me not to leave him unless it was absolutely necessary. Accordingly I remained with him until he gave up his soul to God on the 10th of September, at 6:45 P. M.

I was extremely anxious to spend that night in writing, but the Most Rev. Bishop and Father Brunner obliged me to take some rest as I had not slept for three days and two nights and had scarcely taken

²⁰ St. Louis University Archives. *Minervalia*, plural form of *Minervale*, conventional Latin term for the tuition-money which Jesuit colleges may accept from their students in virtue of a Papal dispensation from the Jesuit rule, which requires that academic instruction be given gratis. The property referred to in the memorandum as having been purchased by Bishop Henni for the Province of Upper Germany, was acquired by him August 5, 1849, and consisted of eight lots with a substantial brick building situated on Van Buren Street.

any food. This was very distressing to me as I earnestly desired to send you the news in order that the Father whom I loved so much might be aided as soon as possible by the prayers which are due to him. On the following day I sent your Reverence a despatch which I trust has reached you."

During their short stay in Milwaukee Fathers Anderledy and Brunner were unable to make arrangements with Bishop Henni for the opening of a college, which was the primary purpose of their going to Wisconsin. Thereupon, in accordance with the instructions they carried from Father Elet, they placed their ministerial services at the disposal of the Bishop, who assigned them the mission of Green Bay at the northern limit of his diocese. They left Milwaukee for this destination September 14, 1849. At Green Bay they took in charge the church and parish of St. John the Evangelist, with the outlying stations, which included Duck Creek, New Franklin (St. Kilian's), Rapides des Peres, now De Pere, and Bay Settlement, which boasted its own little church. These stations, consisting chiefly of French and German-speaking Catholics, were visited once a month. At St. John's in Green Bay there were instructions in English, French and German. The natural aptitude of Father Anderledy for languages now stood him in good stead as he had to preach to the Irish, Germans and French-Canadians that made up his little congregation. One incident of his stay in Northern Wisconsin has been preserved. On a Sunday morning, as he was preparing to say Mass, he found that the chalice had been placed on the top of a high cupboard. Mounting a chair to reach it, he fell, fracturing one or two ribs. He performed, however, the customary services only to be informed at the end that there was a sick call at a considerable distance from the church. Though in great bodily pain he attended, nevertheless, to the sick call, with the result that it was evening before he could give to his serious injury the attention it required. Father Anderledy is said to have met with opposition in his ministry from the trustees of St. John's so that the summons he received to return to Europe came probably as a welcome relief. Father Minoux was much exercised over the condition of Father Anderledy's health. "Father Friedrich," he wrote to Father Elet in May, 1849, "ought to be removed on account of his health; Father Anderledy for the same reason. The heat experienced in your region will render him unfit for work." Father Friedrich returned to Europe, but without Father Anderledy, much to Minoux's disappointment, who was insistent that Father Anderledy be restored to his own Province, especially as the

Father General expressed a desire that he be employed in teaching. In pursuance of instructions received from Father Elet, Father Anderledy in the latter part of 1850 resigned his charge in Green Bay and returned to Europe.

It will be interesting to note here that the hope of starting a college in Milwaukee had not been given up even after Father Brunner and Anderledy had left that city for Green Bay. The official register of the Missouri Vice-Province for 1850 lists among Jesuit establishments, *Collegium Marquettense brevi inchoandum*, "Marquette College, which is to be started soon." This is apparently the earliest designation of Milwaukee's future University by the name of the Jesuit missionary-explorer anywhere to be met with and establishes for the title under which the institution is so familiar to us today a respectable antiquity of seventy years.

Shortly after Father Anderledy's departure from Green Bay, Father Brunner, who had been Superior of that Mission from his arrival there with his fellow Jesuit, resigned his charge with Bishop Henni's consent and took up his residence at Manitowoc Rapids, in Manitowoc County, Wisconsin, 60 miles north of Milwaukee. The first white settlements in Manitowoc County were made in the thirties, when saw-mills were built along the streams, drawing for material on the abundant timber of the neighborhood. The timber soon disappeared and farming became the chief occupation in the county. Not long after Fathers Anderledy and Brunner arrived at Green Bay, they were visited by a committee of Manitowoc Catholics who petitioned the favor of a visit from the missionaries. Bishop Henni having signified his consent, Father Brunner paid his first visit to Manitowoc Rapids in June, 1850. He found the Catholics here and at other points in the county in great spiritual distress. For two months the missionary went from one settlement to another in the county, instructing and administering the holy sacraments. His efforts bore fruit. Six hundred communions were distributed, thirty baptisms of infants administered and many marriages blessed. Father Brunner returned to Green Bay after this apostolic excursion, but, in view of Father Anderledy's recall to Europe, finally requested Bishop Henni to relieve him of the Green Bay charge altogether and assign him to Manitowoc. To this the Bishop agreed and towards the end of 1850 Father Brunner took up his residence at Manitowoc. Within a year and a half five churches had been built. At the Holy Maternity, the parish-church of Manitowoc, instructions were given in English, French and Ger-

man. Out in the county, St. Luke's at Two Rivers was visited every month, as were also St. Anne's in French (Francis) Creek and St. Dennis's and the Holy Family. Altogether there were five Catholic churches or chapels in Manitowoc county, all served by Father Brunner. The field soon became too extensive to be cultivated effectively by a single hand, so that Father Brunner in the autumn of 1852 felt justified in asking Bishop Henni to send another laborer. This the Bishop did in 1853, when Father Brunner was relieved of the care of three of the churches and a station. In the same year, however, Father Brunner was withdrawn altogether by his Superiors from the Manitowoc Mission, which was thereupon assigned with all its dependent churches and stations to Rev. W. Nuyts, O. S. C. The ministry of the Jesuits in northeastern Wisconsin thus came to an end and was not afterwards resumed.²⁰

²⁰ *Origo et Progressus Missionis Manitowocensis in statu Wisconsin Americae Septentrionalis*, Two Rivers, Wis., March 1853, Joseph Brunner, [Ms.] Father Brunner later devoted himself to missionary work in British India, dying at Bombay, November 30, 1884. Cf. also *Catholic Almanac*, 1853, 1854.

It will not be without interest to the reader to touch at this point of our narrative on the final status of the exiled German and Swiss Jesuits in the Vice-Province of Missouri, concerning whom their Provincial, Father Minoux, was in frequent communication with Father Elet. Some extracts from Father Minoux's letters follow:

Strasburg, May 26, 1849: "The Bishop of Chicago pictures in harrowing terms the condition of the Germans in his diocese: on the other hand, he declares frankly that a college is out of the question, as he is absolutely without funds. He asks for at least twelve evangelical laborers, who however, must travel at their own expense; but he hopes that the charity of the German Catholics of his diocese will not suffer them to die of hunger. The Bishop has written to this effect to Very Rev. Father General. The latter in turn appeals to my Province. As for myself, I refer the matter to your prudent charity. . . . To return to Chicago, I may find it possible to send one or two Fathers: I am going to write to Rev. Father Pierling and through him to Rev. Father Bawarowski; perhaps they may have some one to send."

Strasburg, January 29, 1850: "In Germany we are gaining ground; but we shall need a greater force than we now possess. I miss Father Ehrensberger."

Brussels, July 24, 1849: "Father Ehrensberger would be of great help to me, in fact would be almost indispensable in Westphalia where a vast field for missionary work has just been opened up. If you could replace him, what a vast service you would do me!"

Issenheim, August 28, 1849: "I hoped to see Father Anderledy arrive with Father Friedrich; once more I urge upon you my request that you send back those who cannot become acclimatized."

Strasburg, November 30, 1849: "Your beautiful map of the United

The greater part of Father Minoux's exiled subjects, whose final status he was thus endeavoring to arrange with the Vice-Provincial of Missouri, eventually remained in America. Among the number

States of America is hung up in the corridor of the Novitiate of Issenheim. I already wrote to you that we are working in Westphalia and that we are in lack of workers. Now we are called to the Grand Duchy of Baden. Already a mission has been given there and others are asked for. We are truly in straits and cannot meet so many demands."

Strasburg, May 5, 1850: "My hopes in America vanish more and more. Westphalia, the Grand Duchy of Baden, the principalities of Hechingen and Sigmaringen, the kingdom of Wurtemberg, claim all my forces; I dare say that with all my subjects together we should not be able to supply the needs that confront us in these parts. Moreover, my young people ought to apply themselves to German; I fear that in America they may forget it somewhat. This Germany of ours, so long at the mercy of Protestantism, may be compared to your own country. You have proof of what it is like in the emigrants who reach you from here. Do not think that you receive the refuse merely; not at all, and I make bold to say on this occasion, the little thieves get hung, the big ones, well, let no one dare lay a finger on them. You are distressed for lack of subjects; we are going to be in like case. To meet the situation, I must take measures in time. Still I should not like to be charged with parsimony or avarice. I shall be as generous as I can, due regard being had for the rule about sending subjects to the foreign missions. Here then are my arrangements:

1. I agree to leave in America such as believe themselves called thereto, after mature consideration on their part of this calling in the Lord; as also those who, while still in Europe, asked of Very Rev. Father General to be sent to America.
2. So much conceded, I call back the Juniors and recently ordained priests, as Father Anderledy, etc.
3. The theologians shall make their Theology *en regle*; after theology, they shall come to Europe to make their third year.
4. Fathers and Brothers alike shall have the opportunity of looking into their vocation for America, and those who find themselves without such, shall return in due season. This provision will comfort many hearts and confirm vocations.
5. I except in every case those who have gone to America at their own petition or have been assigned to it by our Very Rev. Father General.

Munster, Westphalia, June 11, 1850: "In recalling Father Anderledy, I take for granted you are able to find a substitute for him from among your own subjects. Father Ehrensberger will also have to come back; his letters lead me to the conclusion that he will be of the number of those who, unable *coram Domino* to decide for America, will return to Europe. I should be very much distressed were you to have taken in hand new enterprises in reliance on my men who are priests or will become such. I always said I wished the door left open for their recall."

who thus cast in their fortunes with the Jesuits of the Middle West were Fathers Wipperfurth, Goeldlin, Schultz, Weber, Gaillard, Tschieder, Nussbaum and Haering. They proved a valuable accession to the Vice-Province of Missouri and their ministry was lavished for years with splendid results on parishes in St. Louis, Cincinnati, Chillicothe, Ohio, Washington, Missouri, and Westphalia, Missouri.

VI.

We digressed from our recital of the efforts of Bishop Henni to establish a college in Milwaukee at the point where Fathers Anderledy and Brunner, unable to conclude with the prelate the arrangements needed towards setting the enterprise definitely on foot, withdrew from Milwaukee to take up ministerial work in Green Bay. Of this abortive attempt to begin a Catholic college in the chief city of Wisconsin, Bishop Van de Velde of Chicago wrote about a year later to Father Elet: "Bishop Henni is quite uneasy and will probably write to your Reverence tomorrow. He is now very sorry that

Strasburg, October 24, 1850: "I have just received your letter of September 3. It affords me great pleasure with the news it contains that next year you will be in a position to get along without my subjects and that you will be good enough to send back to me all that have no vocation for the foreign missions, and all who ask to return, Fathers, Scholastics and Brothers. . . . I should be very ungrateful were I to forget the very great charity you showed in receiving my scholastics; I shall always be infinitely grateful for it."

Strasburg, January 7, 1850. [To Bishop Van de Velde of Chicago]: "I received in good time your letter of the 27th of November past. I thank you for it. The heart and soul of a Bishop speak therein unmistakably; the honor of the church and the salvation of souls are your only concern. Would that I were able in every way to respond to your views and plans. But it seems the words of our Lord Jesus Christ must be verified at all times and in every place, *messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci*. The sudden and unexpected changes that have occurred in Germany, which is my province, have modified to a considerable degree my plans in America. On all sides I meet with reproach for having sent away such a force of men: now they offer me money to bring them back, and even appeal to the Holy Father, to obtain perforce what I was not ready to grant. All the parishes, the most important of the towns, which, only two years back were the resort of the proletariat and the hot-bed of agitators, are now asking me for missionaries. The fight for liberty of education is on; if it ends happily, then indeed, we do not know which way to turn. Where are we to find Missionaries and Professors? You see, then, my embarrassment."

he did not follow my advice and keep the Fathers here and begin at once."

On August 5, 1849, Bishop Henni purchased, with a view to the proposed college, eight lots on Van Buren Street, with a substantial brick building. On September 16, of the same year, two days after Fathers Anderledy and Brunner left Milwaukee for Green Bay, he put his signature to a document stating the precise terms of the agreement between himself and M. de Boey. The first two articles regard certain Masses to be said prior to and after the benefactor's decease. Article III reads: "That the college belongs to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus and that the management of it be in the hands of the Fathers of the same Society." Article IV reads: "That the chapel or church of the aforesaid college be dedicated to St. Joseph in pious memory of the same illustrious founder." An important letter bearing on this document was received by Father Brunner at Green Bay from Father Frankeville, Provincial of the Belgian Jesuits:

Brussels, 12 October, 1849.

Reverend Father:

I have written to Mgr. Henni in the name of M. de Boey, to inform him that all difficulties are now smoothed away and that the enterprise may therefore be taken in hand. Your letters of September 15 and 16 have contributed not a little to this result by removing whatever doubt may have arisen in consequence of certain malicious reports and of the haste with which the first note of 15,000 francs was presented for payment. I enclose herewith a copy of the contract entered into between Mgr. and M. de Boey, an authentic act which we preserve here. I wrote Mgr. that M. de Boey indorses this act and subscribes to it, and I asked him to have a copy of it deposited in the diocesan archives. Moreover, I wrote him in the name of de Boey that the desire of this gentleman is that the college, or at least the free and independent administration of it, belong to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, so long as they shall not abandon it of their own accord, or under pressure from some superior power, in which case the college will be at the free disposition of the Bishop or his Chapter; always, however, under condition that it remain a college. On these terms, therefore, M. de Boey engages to pay by way of foundation the sum total of 75,000 francs, in annuities of fifteen thousand francs each year, to wit, 15,000 in 1849, 15,000 in 1850, 15,000 in 1851, 15,000 in 1852, 15,000 in 1853, notice to be given at least thirty days in advance and no allowance to be made for the cost of exchange or other costs.

As to the clause that the college will belong to the Society, nothing to this effect was stipulated for when Mgr. was in the country. M. de Boey's primary intention having been to provide foundations for

Masses in rather large number, this somewhat burdensome charge was judged to be scarcely compatible with our Constitutions. This is why they were content to express a desire that the college be conducted by members of our Order and in particularly by our Swiss exiles.²¹

A communication of this period from Bishop Henni to M. de Boey expresses his keen satisfaction over the arrangement that had been made touching the final payment of the promised money.

To the Chevalier J. De De Boey,
Antwerp, Belgium.

Very Respectable Sir and Signal Benefactor—
Health and Benediction:

I hasten to express to you the lively sentiments of gratitude with which I am inspired in your regard for the new favor which my poor diocese has just received of your generosity through an arrangement which will enable me to realize annually the sum of fifteen thousand francs up to the full payment of the promised sum, 75,000 francs. Now shall I be able, so I hope, to meet the contracts I have made for the site and buildings of the future college; and I venture to expect that all preparations will have been happily completed by 1852. I have been greatly consoled to learn from Reverend Father Franckville that you are thoroughly convinced that circumstances quite unforeseen and not any want of exactness on my part in adhering to the conditions laid down by you was the reason why my draft was presented before maturity. I have lost 280 dollars by its being protested, but it is not so much this loss that I regret as the annoyance the matter has occasioned you.

I shall be at pains, Sir, to keep you informed on all that shall be done towards the realization of the project you have so much at heart, the college of Milwaukee. Be assured that all the stipulations agreed to will be faithfully carried out.

Deign to accept the homage of profound respect with which I have the honor to be,

Very Respectable Sir and Benefactor,

Your very humble and devoted servant,

J. M. HENNI.

The arrangements entered into between Father Elet and Bishop Henni with a view to starting a college in Milwaukee to be under the control of the Jesuit Province of Upper Germany, were eventually not upheld by Father Minoux, who, in the end, came to the conclusion to accept neither college nor parish, but at most a missionary

²¹ The members of the Jesuit Province of Upper Germany (*Provincia Germaniae Superioris*) were often described collectively as the Swiss Jesuits from the circumstance that their houses before 1848 were located in Switzerland. Moreover, a great many of their number were of Swiss origin.

house in Bishop Henni's diocese. In this conclusion he was upheld by the General Father Roothaan, and thus came to an end what may be called the first or German phase in the negotiations that led up to the opening of a Jesuit house in the city of Milwaukee. The hopes of Bishop Henni now turned towards St. Louis, the seat of the Vice-Province of Missouri. New establishments, however, were a risky venture when the Vice-Province had only the scantiest of resources to count upon; hence, as early as September, 1850, Father Elet decided not to accept the invitations of Bishops Van de Velde and Henni to open colleges in their respective cities.

The unexpected death of M. de Boey early in 1850 made available the balance of the sum of 75,000 francs which he had promised to send to Bishop Henni in annual installments extending over four or five years. His executors allowed the legacy, paying the money to the Procurator of the Jesuit Belgian Province who transferred it to the Procurator of the Vice-Province of Missouri. By the latter it was in turn paid over to Bishop Henni, who on receiving the money, wrote December 12, 1850, to Father Druyts, President of St. Louis University. "I thank you and the Provincial sincerely for the kindness with which you tendered me this favor. My prayers are now only that the day may soon come on which I may greet the good fathers of Marquette College."²²

²² The transfer of the De Boey money to Bishop Henni was negotiated through Bishop Van de Velde of Chicago who went to Milwaukee for the purpose. The note of Father Druyts, President of St. Louis University, to Bishop Van de Velde, dated August 7, 1850, directs that the money or as much of it as remained uncollected (\$7,533), be paid to Bishop Henni six months after such date. "The above being in full payment of all dues arising from a legacy made by the Chevalier G. J. De Boey of Antwerp for the foundation of a college to be opened in the city of Milwaukee and to be entrusted to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, unless the said Fathers should decline accepting it for themselves, in which case the V. Provincial of the Society of Jesus of the V. Province of Missouri has been empowered by the executor of said Chevalier de Boey to make such arrangements as will carry out the intention of the donor." At Milwaukee, December 12, 1850, Bishop Henni signed a receipt for the money, "being the balance (in full) "of the grant made by Mons. le Chevalier G. J. Deboey of Antwerp in behalf of the Marquette College at Milwaukee in the state of Wisconsin." It [the name "Marquette"] was the selection of Archbishop Henni. In his frequent visits to St. Gall's he often spoke of this, his wish, that the college be called Marquette and of his intention to procure for it a statue of the pioneer Jesuit. Marquette was to be represented significantly as standing beside the globe of the world and with extended hands pointing majestically to the West." *Marquette College, a Quarter Century, 1881-1896*, p. 9.

Bishop Henni having in 1852 again invited the Jesuits to Milwaukee, the matter was referred for settlement to the General of the Order, Father Roothaan. A communication from the latter to Father William Stack Murphy, Father Elet's successor as Vice-Provincial of Missouri, reveals the General's mind on the question of a college in Milwaukee:

In writing to you on the 20th inst., I failed through an oversight, to say anything about the petition of Bishop Henni, a copy of whose letter you forwarded to me. I make up for the omission today, sending you at the same time a letter from Mgr. Miege.

As to *Marquette College*, here is the information you ask for. Mgr. Henni, while soliciting alms in Europe, met Father Minoux, who at that time had planned to open a house of his dispersed Province in America. In Belgium, Mgr. met M. de Boey, (R. I. P.) who offered 70,000 francs, payable in 10 [sic] years, for a college projected by Mgr. on condition that the college belong to the Jesuits. As a matter of fact, however, the Swiss Fathers, after being on the ground, judged the project of a college to be impracticable and thereupon withdrew. The project therefore proved an absolute failure.

Now, my dear Father, it is you who are invited. What can you say? You have only one answer to make—*hominem non habeo*. If the temptation to do good without having the means to do it, had been steadily rejected by this Province, as it should have been, such a deal of excellent good-will and devotion would not have been sacrificed at an utter loss. There is therefore absolutely nothing to be done, nothing to be promised for this college of Milwaukee. It seems to me that Mgr. ought to be content, with the means he has at his disposal, to establish elementary schools. But the Society attempts nothing and engages to do nothing in this regard.

After Father Roothaan's peremptory instructions to Father Murphy no hope would seem to have been left for a Jesuit College in Milwaukee. Bishop Henni, however, on his part, persisted in the attempt to realize the object he had so much at heart. In August, 1853, Fathers John Gleizal and Isidore Boudreaux preached a mission at the Bishop's Cathedral, after which Father Gleizal conducted a retreat for the clergy of the diocese. The Bishop took occasion of the presence of the Fathers to bring up once more his favorite project of a College. Father Gleizal, after communicating with the Vice-Provincial, Father Murphy, answered in his name that a college could not be attempted, alleging among other reasons for this decision, the lack of Fathers to undertake the work, and the small prospect of a sufficient number of students in Milwaukee to justify a college. Father Gleizal and his companion, after their missionary work in

Milwaukee, proceeded to Racine, where they preached a mission to the English-speaking Catholics of that town. While in Racine, Father Gleizal received a communication from Bishop Henni, again reiterating his petition for a Jesuit college in Milwaukee and at the same time making it clear that this was to be a final appeal made to the Society. The Bishop offered the Jesuits, besides the property he had purchased for a college-site, the parish of St. Gall's the dividing line between which and the Cathedral parish was to be the Milwaukee River.²³ When, in December, 1853, Bishop Henni's offer came before Father Murphy and his Council in St. Louis for consideration, it was decided to defer decision until the return from Europe of Father De Smet, whose opinion in the matter was deemed of great importance.

In January, 1854, Father De Smet being then in St. Louis, it was decided to accept the Bishop's offer if a personnel could be spared for the work in Milwaukee. Meantime, Father Peter Beckx had, on Father Roothaan's death in 1853, succeeded him as General of the Society of Jesus. A letter from Father De Smet to Father Beckx on the Milwaukee question bears date December 20, 1854:

Rev. Father Provincial has instructed me to give your Paternity my opinion on the acceptance of a Residence and church in Milwaukee. The question has been under consideration for several years. I have always been in favor of accepting the offer of the worthy Mgr. Henni. Last year his Lordship, in a letter to us, expressed the desire that we come and take possession in his episcopal city of a fine piece of property, a house and a church. The Bishop does not insist on the establishment of a regular college (which would be a thing impossible for us at the present moment); he leaves this idea to the good will of Superiors, in case circumstances should permit them to realize it; it would be enough at present to send two or three Fathers and open a school (large or small, according to our means) for day-scholars. He desires, as far as depends on him, that the money given by M. de Boey be applied to an establishment of the Society in his diocese. I am of opinion that the Vice-Province could, without serious inconvenience, accept the Bishop's offer. From all I have heard of the place, the Society could do an immense amount of good. Milwaukee is already a very important city; every year there is a notable increase in the population. Wisconsin, of which Milwaukee is the capital, enjoys great prosperity. The states of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Minnesota border on and surround it. Catholics from Europe, especially Germany and Ireland, flock there every year by thousands. In all these states the soil in general is highly fertile and the climate healthy, while communica-

²³ Ms. account by Father Simon Lalumiere, S. J.

tion between them by lakes and railways is very easy. A few zealous missionaries of the Society would achieve immense good throughout all this region of which Milwaukee appears to be the focal point.

With the views of the Consultors of the Missouri Vice-Province, all of whom had reported favorably on the question of accepting Bishop Henni's offer, Father Beckx, the General, showed himself to be in complete accord. In a letter to Father Murphy, the Vice-Provincial, who dissented from the view expressed by the Consultors, Father Beckx wrote, February 10, 1855:

I have received the opinions of the Father-Consultors whom I take occasion to thank for their diligence. All advise that Bishop Henni's proposition be accepted. Father Weninger had written to me before in the same sense and with great detail. In opposition to their opinion, your Reverence enumerates various difficulties. All these have been gone over carefully with the Father Assistants. I highly praise and approve your Reverence's zeal for the proper training of our men, and I have no desire to stand in the way of it. At the same time the offer made in Milwaukee appears to merit every consideration.

Hence the decision has been reached to propose to your Reverence to see whether you cannot reduce the number of subjects in Louisville, since we are not by any means meeting there with the success we should like, and furthermore, whether you cannot suppress one or other isolated Residence, and by this or similar means, find two or three men to send to Milwaukee to begin a house to which we can add in time and according to our means.

I communicate this decision to your Reverence, not by any means as an order, but as a counsel.

The wishes of Father Beckx were finally carried out in the course of 1855. In August the decision to accept the Milwaukee offer was definitely reached and on September 13, Fathers De Smet and De Coen arrived in the city. On the 14th, Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, they took formal possession of St. Gall's Church. As the parochial residence was not quite ready for occupancy, they lodged a few days at the residence of the Bishop, by whom they were kindly received and entertained. On the following Sunday, September 16, the Bishop preached at the High Mass at St. Gall's and formally introduced the Fathers. He spoke in commendation of the Society of Jesus and expressed the great satisfaction he felt at its entrance into his diocese. On September 27, Father Dionysius Kenny, with the lay-brother John Murphy, arrived from St. Louis to assist Father De Coen, while Father De Smet, who had only been awaiting

the coming of Father Kenny, left Milwaukee for St. Louis on the same day.²⁴

VII.

St. Gall's Church, a frame building, ninety-four feet by forty-six and twenty-four feet high, stood at the southwest corner of Second and Sycamore Streets. It had been dedicated December 8, 1849, Father Beauprez, its first pastor, and Fathers Callanan, Putnam and McFaul participating in the ceremony. Conspicuous among the decorations of the church on the occasion was an oil-painting of St. Gall portrayed in the act of announcing the Gospel to the heathen Allemani. It was the work of a Miss Pearsall and came as a gift to the parish from Bishop Meier of St. Gall in Switzerland, Bishop Henni's early tutor and life-long friend. Bishop Henni's biographer notes that the prelate, in providing a church for the Irish emigrants of Milwaukee under the patronage of the Irish missionary-saint, St. Gall, one of the apostles of the Faith in Switzerland, was especially gratified to be able thus to repay in some measure the debt of gratitude which his native Switzerland owed to the early Celtic missionaries.²⁵

The parish territory of St. Gall's was limited on the east by the Milwaukee River; North and South it extended some four miles into the county while to the West it included the town of Wauwatosa, about five miles from the city. Father Beauprez, the first pastor, had as his assistant for a time Father P. Callanan. In 1850 Father Bradley succeeded to the rectorship in which he was assisted by Father Thomas Keenan. During the few months between June, 1855, and the arrival of the Jesuits in September of that year, Father Martin Kundig, at a later period Vicar-General of the diocese, was in charge of the parish.²⁶

On taking over St. Gall's the Jesuits found the church sadly out of repair, while the Rectory, a one-story cottage of two rooms with basement situated in the rear of the church, was in similar case. Being built on an unusually low spot of the marshy ground that was characteristic of the entire neighborhood, the Rectory became flooded after every shower of rain. "Snakes, toads and lizards," exclaims the diarist of St. Gall's, "have their dwelling there." In

²⁴ *History of St. Gall's Residence, Milwaukee*, [Ms.]

²⁵ Marty, *Dr. John Martin Henni*, etc., p. 202.

²⁶ *Marquette College; A Quarter-Century, 1881-1906*, Milwaukee, 1906, p. 5.

1855 this section of the West Side still retained much of its primitive condition as a wild-rice swamp. Between the Menominee River on the South, the Milwaukee River on the East and up to between Fourth and Fifth Streets, where the hills began, the Fourth Ward was low, marshy ground, covered in most places with several feet of water. As a consequence the locality was unhealthy to a degree, the records of the day commenting on the great amount of sickness to be found among the parishioners of St. Gall's. Happily, the evil did not continue long. During the period 1855-1857 the low-lying and miasma-breeding blocks in the Fourth Ward were filled in to an average of twenty-two feet, the filling being brought from the hills or bluffs which were cut away to a depth of some twenty feet. A new St. Gall's Rectory, forty-eight feet by thirty-eight, built of brick on the site of the old one, was finished in the remarkably short space of four months, and was occupied by the Fathers shortly before the Christmas of 1856.²⁷

With the early struggles and development of St. Gall's parish we are, however, concerned here only to the extent that they connect themselves with the beginnings of Marquette University. The establishment of a college had been the primary object that drew the Society of Jesus to Milwaukee; and within two years of its entrance into the city, the first steps had been taken by its representatives to realize this object by the opening of St. Aloysius Academy. A three-year lease having been secured on the ground immediately adjoining the church on the West, the old Rectory was moved to this site and there raised ten feet so as to admit of new foundations and a ground-story being built underneath. Thus enlarged and its interior fitted up anew, it was to furnish quarters

²⁷ *History of St. Gall's Residence, Milwaukee*, [Ms.]. "All that portion of the Fourth Ward bounded by the Menominee on the south, the Milwaukee on the east, Spring Street (Grand Avenue) on the north and to a point about midway between Fourth and Fifth Streets on the west where the hills commenced, was a wild rice-swamp covered with water from two to six feet in depth, in fact, an impassible marsh. The amount of filling that has been done upon the tract is immense, averaging twenty-two feet over the entire tract. There was a small island near the corner of Second and Clybourne Streets, upon which was a large elm tree. All else was a watery waste. At Spring Street the ground commenced to harden and from there to Chestnut, with the exception of West Water from Spring to Third (which was also marsh) the whole was a swamp, upon which grew tamarack, black ash, tag alder and cedar in abundance." *Memoirs of Milwaukee County*, Madison, Western Historical Association, 1909, p. 262.

for a classical and commercial school to be known as St. Aloysius Academy. The expense thus incurred was met by subscriptions from the congregation, by donations from other sources and by money borrowed at interest. In August, 1857, Father Simon Lalumiere and Mr. Cornelius O'Brien, accompanied by Sebastian Schleuter, a lay-brother, arrived from St. Louis to take in hand the management of the new Academy. A prospectus, which appeared in one of the Milwaukee dailies, August 26, 1857, reads as follows:

ST. ALOYSIUS ACADEMY

Under the direction of the members of the Society of Jesus, situated on Third Street, between Sycamore and Clybourne Streets, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The classes in this institution will be opened the first Monday of September.

The course of studies will comprise all the branches of a thorough Classical and Commercial Education, and classes will be organized to suit students of every grade of proficiency. Greek, Latin, English and French will be taught by experienced and competent professors.

The classes of Rhetoric, Mathematics, Astronomy, Chemistry and Natural Philosophy will afford the more advanced portion of the students every opportunity of successfully following the scientific course, while the younger students will be carefully instructed in Orthography, Reading, Grammar, History, Geography, Arithmetic and other branches suited to their age and capacity.

Penmanship and bookkeeping will receive special attention and will be taught on the most approved plan.

TERMS—First department, per quarter, payable in advance, \$7.50. Second department, per quarter, payable in advance, \$5.00.

For further information apply St. Gall's Parsonage, corner of Second and Sycamore Streets.

S. C. LALUMIERE, Esq., President.

The diarist of St. Gall's, having chronicled the preparations made to set St. Aloysius Academy on foot, expressed the fervent hope, "may it prove, under the blessing of heaven to be the root and foundation of a flourishing college." In the event, the new institution was not to develop into a college, but it struggled through many years, not without a measure of success, to realize its ideals of higher academic training, and many of the leading citizens of Milwaukee found instruction within its humble walls. At the opening of the Academy in September, 1857, there registered about forty students, ranging in age between six and twenty-one. In August,

¹⁰ *Memoirs of Milwaukee County, etc.*, p. 263.

1858, the faculty was re-enforced by the arrival of Father John Coveney and Mr. Joseph Van Zealand, both of the Society of Jesus. Though the number of students in attendance during the year ending July, 1859, had risen to ninety-two, the managers of the school apparently felt disappointment over the progress made. At the end of the second year Father Lalumiere with the other Jesuit instructors were withdrawn, the teaching-staff being thereupon recruited with laymen. Among these were Messrs. Graves, Menger, O'Brien and Rimmele, of whom the last named subsequently entered the Society of Jesus. On July 2, 1861, Father Lalumiere returned from St. Louis to succeed Father De Coen as pastor of St. Gall's. In August Father Kenny followed Father De Coen to other fields of labor. On September 9, St. Aloysius Academy began its third year with about forty boys in attendance. In 1864 a new school-building of brick was erected. Father John T. Kuhlman was Principal of the school which now assumed the name of "St. Gall's Academy." Beginning with 1852 one or more Jesuit scholastics were annually assigned to the teaching-staff of the Academy, until 1872 when Father Ferdinand Coosemans, the Provincial, decided to station no more scholastics in Milwaukee. Little by little the Academy, between which and the parish school of St. Gall's a clear line of demarcation had been drawn in the beginning, lost its individuality and was merged in the parish-school. For a decade at least prior to the opening of Marquette college in 1882, the Academy at St. Gall's, as an institution of high-school grade, had ceased to exist; or rather, was it a case only of suspended animation, for the Jesuits, who had come to Milwaukee to open a college, were still on the ground and ready, when circumstances should be ripe, to execute their cherished plan.

VIII.

The issue of events was to see Marquette College established, not in the filled-up rice-swamp where St. Aloysius Academy ran its brief career, but on the bluffs, which in the infant days of the city rose up sharply from the marsh-land below, and wearing a crown of timber of more or less heavy growth were a thing of beauty to the eye and the favorite pleasure-grounds of all pioneer Milwaukeans. Beginning at the Menominee River on the south, the bluffs ran uniformly north along a line midway between Fourth and Fifth Streets to a point between Spring Street, the present Grand Avenue and Wells Street. Here the front of the bluffs swung around sharply

and coursed west to midway between Eighth and Ninth Streets, where it swerved again to the north. In the mid-fifties, as was stated above, the sharp edges of the bluffs were cut away and the level of the bottom-land lying at their base was proportionately raised; but to this day the topographical contrast between the hill-top section of Milwaukee and the lower or business district of the city is striking enough to impress even the most unobservant.

Discounting, then, actual conditions, for there were few residents in the hill-top district in the early fifties, and looking only to the expansion which he felt the city was bound to undergo up and across the bluffs, Bishop Henni acquired for \$11,000 eight lots, being the south half of block 199, bounded by Tamarack or State, Prairie, Tenth and Eleventh Streets. The property lay at a remove of some score yards back from the edge of the bluffs and was described by one of the pioneer Jesuit residents of Milwaukee, as "an eminence which overlooks the whole city and presents an extensive view of Lake Michigan." July 15, 1856, Bishop Henni deeded over this property in trust for educational purposes to Father William Stack Murphy, Vice-Provincial of the Jesuits of the Middle West with headquarters in St. Louis, thus carrying out the intention of the donor, M. De Boey, through whose gift of money the Bishop had been enabled to make the purchase and who had stipulated that the college to be established through his agency should be conducted by members of the Society of Jesus. In 1863 the six remaining lots of block 199 were acquired by the Jesuits and in 1868 Bishop Henni delivered them a title in fee-simple to the property purchased by him in the same block.

Meantime, in 1864, by special act of the Wisconsin Legislature, Marquette College was incorporated as an educational institution of collegiate grade, with a charter authorizing its trustees to confer such academic honors and degrees as they might deem proper. The incorporators were the Reverends Simon P. Lalumiere, Ignatius Maes and James M. Hayes, all of the Society of Jesus and resident at the time at St. Gall's Rectory. All the while, too, there was a steady flow of population from the center towards the hill-top section of the city, a condition that determined the pastors of St. Gall's to open the succursal church of the Holy Name. It stood along the Eleventh Street front of the college property, and was dedicated October 24, 1875. Five years later, August 15, 1880, the corner-stone of Marquette College was laid by Rt. Rev. Michael Heiss, Coadjutor-Bishop of Milwaukee, on a site at the northwest corner of Tenth and State

Streets. September 5, 1881, the doors of the new institution opened to receive the first students and the hopes long-deferred of the Society of Jesus to bring within reach of the youth of Milwaukee the advantages of an education of college grade became at length an accomplished fact.

To tell the story of the growth of the new Marquette, an institution of University rank, with admitted academic prestige and a sphere of active educational influence embracing the city, the State and a wide region beyond, does not enter into the scope of the present paper. The season of 1919-1920 opened with an enrollment of over 3000 students, a token, if any were needed, that Milwaukee's one big center of instruction in the arts and sciences has assumed the proportions of a civic institution and won for itself a position of undisputed pre-eminence in the educational life of the metropolis. And here we cannot but reflect that all this splendor of accomplishment, and hopes realized beyond measure, derives in a sense from a gift of money, inconsiderable according to present-day standards, but signally generous when measured by the standards of seven decades ago, made in 1848 by a distinguished citizen of Belgium towards the promotion of higher education in Wisconsin Territory. We have scarcely moved from out of the shadow of those tragic days when Belgium, confronted with the most terrible crisis in her history, sent forth to the world her passionate cry for relief. In the nation-wide response with which the cry was ultimately met in the United States, the University which in its rudimentary stages de Boey was instrumental in founding, participated nobly from the beginning and hundreds of her sons went forth to lend their young strength to the tremendous struggle. With an equity of compensation good to look upon, the bread cast upon the waters seventy years before by a son of Belgium had come back to his beloved country under a guise and with a richness of measure that no imagination of his could easily have forecast.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

St. Louis.

THE FRANCISCANS IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

(CONTINUED FROM JANUARY, 1920)

In the preceding papers, we have briefly described the arrival and the activity of the Franciscans in the diocese of Alton up to the year 1875. During this time, their numbers increased from nine to one hundred and nine, and their labors, at first confined to three parishes in Effingham County, gradually extended to many neighboring counties and even beyond the limits of the state. Mention was made in the January issue, page 330, of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, of the houses founded by them, since their arrival, in various states. They were: Quincy, Illinois (1859); St. Louis, Missouri (1863); Cleveland, Ohio (1868); Memphis Tennessee (1870). Of these, the foundations at Quincy are of more especial interest to the readers of this REVIEW. We shall, therefore, in the following give a short sketch of these foundations, restricting ourselves, however, for the present to the history of the convent and parish, as we intend to deal with that of the college on another occasion.

The Rev. Herman Schaefermeyer, who had come to this country with the Franciscans in 1858, and who had been appointed pastor of St. Boniface Church in Quincy the same year, was very anxious to have the friars found a new parish and open a high school or college in the eastern part of the city. This desire was strengthened when Father Capistran Zwingge, at his request, came to Quincy in 1859 and assisted in the confessional and pulpit from Low Sunday to Trinity Sunday. Mr. Christian Borstadt, a member of St. Boniface parish, on this occasion offered to donate a site for a church and convent, declaring that he wished thereby to express his gratitude to the Franciscans for a service rendered him earlier in life. When he was a traveling artisan in Germany, he fell dangerously ill at Fulda and did not know whither to go. The Franciscans of the city took pity on him and nursed him back to health. Ever since, he said, he had been hoping for an opportunity to requite their charity. Bishop Juncker, who was approached in the matter, gladly gave his consent to the proposed foundation. He and Rev. H. Schaefermeyer went to Teutopolis to confer with the Fathers there, and as a result of the conference, Rev. Schaefermeyer, from Teutopolis, forwarded

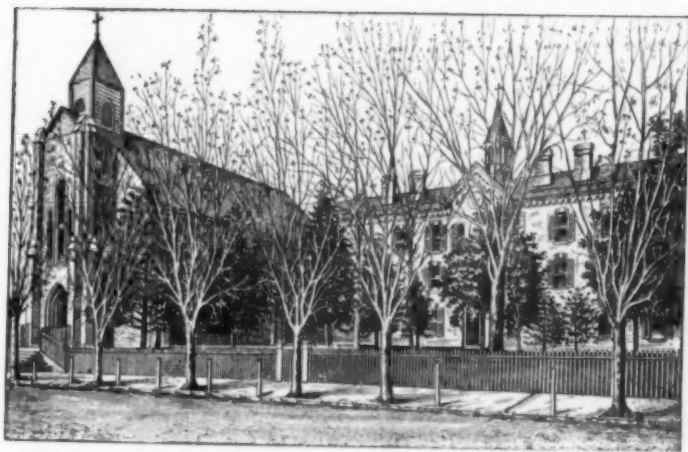
a request to the Provincial in Germany to establish a convent and high school at Quincy. On September 25, 1859, the intermediate chapter assembled at Wiedenbrueck, approved the proposal and sent two Fathers, three clerics, and a Tertiary lay brother. Father Servatius Altmicks, then laboring zealously at Effingham and the neighboring missions, was appointed superior of the contemplated foundation. He arrived at Quincy, together with Brother Honorius Dopp, on December 2, 1859, and was heartily welcomed by Rev. H. Schaefermeyer. At the latter's request, Father Servatius, in a sermon delivered on the following Sunday, explained to the people the object of the coming of the Franciscans and asked them to give their aid to the undertaking. In the afternoon, the trustees of St. Boniface Church, at the invitation of the pastor, met at the parochial residence to decide on a course of action. It was deemed advisable to rent a house which might serve temporarily as a home for the friars and at the same time enable them to open the high school with a preparatory class. At this meeting a building committee, consisting of Messrs. Christian Borstadt, Clement Vanden Boom, Joseph Mast, Ferdinand Cramer, George Laage, and William Mersmann, was chosen to aid in the erection of a convent, church, and school.

A three-story brick building, known as the Mast House, still standing, though completely remodeled, on the southeast corner of Eighth and Main streets, was rented at \$29 per month, and furnished and occupied before the end of December. The first floor was used for school purposes, the second contained the apartments of the religious, the third served as a chapel.¹

Father Herbert Hoffmanns and the three clerics who had been sent by the Province in Germany, arrived at Quincy about the end of January, 1860.² The clerics, Bernardine Hermann, Maurice Klostermann, and Raynerius Diekneite, at once continued the study of theology, which had been interrupted by the journey, under the guidance of Father Herbert. They were ordained deacons in St.

¹ The sources from which we have drawn in preparing this sketch are: Several letters written by Father Servatius Altmicks and other Fathers to the Provincial in Germany; *Souvenir of the Golden Jubilee of St. Francis Solanus Parish, Quincy, Ill.*, (1910); *Kirchengeschichte Quincy's*, by Rev. Theodore Bruener (1887); *Diamond Jubilee Souvenir of St. Boniface Congregation, Quincy, Ill.*, (1912); *Souvenir of the Sixtieth Anniversary of St. Anthony's Parish, Melrose Township, Adams County, Illinois* (1919); *Clerical Bead Roll of the Diocese of Alton*, by Rev. A. Zurbonsen.

² See ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, January, 1920, p. 328, n. 2.



First Church and Monastery, 1860



St. Francis School, Quincy, 1865

Boniface Church on February 9. On this occasion, Bishop Juncker, after a consultation with the clergy and the trustees of St. Boniface Church, decided to accept the site offered by Mr. C. Borstadt for the new church and convent. This property was situated at 18th and Vine streets, about one mile east of St. Boniface Church, in a section of the city that was almost entirely undeveloped and very thinly inhabited, so that for a long time the new church was known as "the church on the prairie."

In the meantime, the committee had labored zealously to procure funds and building material, and it was soon found possible to begin the work of construction. The convent was finished during the summer, and the friars removed to it on September 27, glad to be released from their cramped quarters in the city.³ The new convent was a two-story structure of brick; the lower story was used temporarily as a chapel and school.

On July 2, Bishop Juncker raised to the priesthood the three clerics Bernardine, Maurice, and Raynerius. In the afternoon, he laid the cornerstone of the new church, which was placed under the patronage of St. Francis Solano, in the presence of the Franciscan community, the Rev. H. Schaefermeyer, Rev. P. McElherne, pastor of St. Peter's Church, Quincy, Rev. Lorent, of Mount Sterling, Illinois, and the Rev. John Janssen, of Springfield, Illinois, later Bishop of Belleville. All the Catholic societies of Quincy and a large concourse of people from the city and the surrounding territory took part in the celebration. Work on the church progressed so favorably that services could be held in it before the end of the year. Great was the joy of the Fathers and the people when Mass was said in it for the first time at midnight on Christmas day, though the interior was still in an unfinished condition and the snow drifted far into the church through the temporary door. The dimensions of the church were: length, 115 feet; width, 43 feet, and height, 45 feet. The parish at first was very small; eight to ten pews were sufficient to accommodate all the members.

An agreement was made by the Bishop and the Provincial, according to which St. Francis Solano Church was to enjoy the rights and privileges of both parochial and Franciscan churches; the deed was

³ Before the community took possession of its new home, it was saddened by the death of Brother Honorius Dopp, the first one to die in the present Province of the Sacred Heart. He departed this life on June 17, 1860.

recorded in the name of the Bishop, but the care of the church and parish was given over to the Franciscan Fathers.⁴

GROWTH OF THE PARISH

In October, 1862, Father Servatius was appointed to found a new house and parish in St. Louis, Missouri. Two events which occurred during the administration of his successor, Father Ferdinand Bergmeyer, 1862-1869,⁵ are worthy of note: the consecration of the church by Bishop Juncker, on December 8, 1864, and the erection of the first school building.

Up to the year 1865, the parish had no school building of its own. The children of the parish attended St. Boniface school until March, 1862, when St. Aloysius Orphan Society⁶ offered the use of the orphan asylum, which was vacant at the time, to the Franciscans for school purposes. The offer was accepted, and classes were taught here until February, 1865. The number of school children during the first year was forty. The first teacher was no other than Father Maurice Klostermann, who as a young man had qualified for the position of teacher in Germany. He taught for two years, that is, from 1862 to 1864; in the latter year he was appointed Rector of St. Joseph Seminary and College, at Teutopolis. Father Maurice was assisted at Quincy by Mr. Joseph Bergschneider and Mr. Theodore Stuckmann; the latter taught the larger boys from 1863 to 1893.

As the Orphan Society, owing to numerous appeals, wished to use the asylum for its original purpose, Father Ferdinand determined to erect a school for the parish. The cornerstone of the new building was laid by him on July 24, 1864; the dedication of the school took place on February 2, 1865. This ceremony also was performed by the pastor. In 1866, the School Sisters de Notre Dame, of Milwaukee, were given charge of all grades, except that of the larger boys.

In December, 1869, Father Ferdinand was transferred to Teutopolis as *lector*, or teacher, of theology. He was succeeded at Quincy by Father Nazarius Kommerscheid,⁷ who guided the destinies of the parish with great success until 1883. The parish continued to prosper in every way, so that the need of a more spacious church

⁴ *Souvenir of the Golden Jubilee of St. Francis Parish*, p. 57; Bruener, p. 267.

⁵ ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, January, 1920, p. 328, n. 2.

⁶ This Society was organized in 1851 to provide for the many children bereft of their parents during the cholera which raged at Quincy with more or less violence from 1849 to 1854. Cf. Bruener, pp. 143, 146, 165, sqq.

⁷ ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, January, 1920, p. 329, n. 4.

yearly became more apparent. Father Narzarius, accordingly, in 1874, after consulting the trustees of the parish, called upon the members of St. Francis Society to take the lead in raising funds for the erection of a new church. The appeal met with a ready response. The "St. Francis Building Society" was at once organized, and soon numbered every man in the parish among its members. By means of entertainments, festivals, collections, and dues, the Society within ten years, that is, up to the summer of 1884, collected a fund amounting to over \$30,000. In the meantime, the zealous Father Nazarius was afflicted with a disease of the lungs and was advised by his physician to seek relief in the mild climate of California. He was not to reach his destination; for he passed away suddenly, on October 27, 1883, while en route, near Dallas, Texas. His body was brought back to Quincy, and the solemn obsequies took place on October 29.

THE NEW CHURCH AND CONVENT

Father Maurice Klostermann was now appointed guardian of the convent, while Father Andrew Butzkueben was placed in charge of the parish.* As the number of families had increased to about five hundred, the new pastor at once took steps to carry out his predecessor's plan of erecting a more spacious church. The building fund amounted, as was stated, to over \$30,000, and a favorable site had been purchased in block 13, west of the old church. Bishop Baltes and the Provincial readily gave their permission, and Brother Adrian Wewer⁹ was ordered to draw the plans and specifications. At the same time it was decided to build a convent in connection with the new church, to serve as the parochial residence, while the first convent building, which had, since 1860, been enlarged twice to accommodate the growing number of the cleric students of philosophy, was to be placed at the disposal of St. Francis Solano College, which adjoined it.

The cornerstone of the new church and convent was laid by Bishop Baltes, on April 26, 1885, in the presence of a large number of the clergy, both secular and regular, and of a great concourse of the people. The convent, a two-story structure, with the main wing

* Father Andrew came to this country in 1875, while still a cleric, in consequence of the *Kulturkampf*. After his ordination in 1877, he attended Green Creek from 1878 to 1879, and Siegel from 1879 to 1883. See ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, January, 1920, p. 335.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 334, n. 17.

facing the south, 145x33½ feet, and an eastern wing, 71x33½ feet, was dedicated on October 4, 1886. On this occasion, the Rev. B. Bartels who had welcomed the pioneer Franciscans to Teutopolis in 1858, and who was living in retirement at Quincy, sang the solemn High Mass, and the Rev. T. Bruener, pastor of St. Boniface Church, preached the sermon. The new church was dedicated by the Very Rev. J. J. Janssen, Administrator of the diocese of Alton, on October 24. The sacred edifice, built in the Gothic style, has a length of 182 feet; the nave measures 72 feet, the transept 120 feet in width.

THE NEW SCHOOL

As the number of the school children continued to increase from year to year, the parish found it necessary to erect a new and larger school. A suitable site was obtained in the block south of the church and convent, and Brother Adrian Wewer was again asked to furnish the plans and specifications. These called for a four-story structure (including the basement), with a frontage of 92 feet and a depth of 63 feet. The upper story contains a hall for entertainments and exhibitions. The cornerstone was blessed by Bishop Ryan of Alton, on May 26, 1892; the dedication ceremonies were performed on Easter Monday, April 3, 1893, by Father Ferdinand Bergmeyer, guardian of the convent, who, by a happy coincidence, had dedicated the first school building in 1865.

In 1894, the school was almost destroyed by fire. On December 22, 1899, to quote the words of the history of the parish, "the most harrowing disaster of recent times at Quincy, brought inexpressible anguish, not only upon the bereaved families, but upon the whole parish and city. A score of happy girls (ranging from eight to ten years of age) were rehearsing for the annual Christmas play, under the direction of the Sisters, when the dainty costume of a child came in contact with a burning gas jet, and this child rushing among the others, set their dresses on fire. Rev. Father Andrew pronounced the words of absolution, then with Prof. Musholt (the teacher in charge of the larger boys) and the Sisters rushed to the rescue, but with little success. In about three minutes, twelve girls were badly burned, four expiring almost instantly. Eight more died a few hours later at St. Mary's Hospital. Three other girls, though injured more or less, escaped with their lives. Ven. Sister Theotima's hands were so badly burned as to necessitate amputation. Sister Ludwiga and Sister Rudolpha were likewise severely injured. Father Andrew, Sister

Ephrem, and Prof. Musholt were fortunate to escape with lighter injuries."¹⁰

To provide a suitable home for the Sisters, who up to this time had dwelt in St. Aloysius Orphan Asylum, the parish, in 1910-1911, erected a large building west of the church. It contains, besides a chapel and the apartments of the Sisters, several rooms of the kindergarten department, a dining room, and three music rooms.

This brief sketch will give the reader an idea of the beginning and growth of St. Francis Solano parish. That it also fared well in a spiritual way, goes without saying. A convincing proof of this may be seen in the fact that seven priests, of whom six are Franciscans, and about seventy Sisters have gone forth from the parish.

LABORS OF THE FATHERS

The labors of the Fathers, here as elsewhere, were not restricted to the parish. Calls for their services were numerous, both in the city and in the surrounding territory, and they have continued to be so up to the present day. We shall content ourselves with merely mentioning the fact that they have acted as chaplains at St. Aloysius Orphan Asylum since its opening in 1865, at St. Mary's Hospital since 1876,¹¹ and at St. Mary's Academy since 1877, and refer in particular to their efforts in behalf of the negroes of Quincy. "After the Civil War," says the *Souvenir* mentioned above, "many former negro slaves, a number of whom were Catholics, settled at Quincy, Illinois. To prevent their drifting away from the Church, the Rev. Father Michael Richardt, O. F. M., undertook to collect the scattered sheep, if possible, into a separate parish. Rev. J. Janssen, pastor of St. Boniface Church, placed the former Protestant church on Seventh and Jersey streets, temporarily utilized for school purposes, but vacant at the time, at Father Michael's disposal. A Sunday school was begun October 21, 1877. As the attendance was very good and kept on increasing, Sister Herlinda de Notre Dame, with the permission of Mother Caroline, February 11, 1878, opened a day school

¹⁰ *Souvenir of St. Francis Parish*, p. 104, sq.

¹¹ The first request made to the Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis, of Cincinnati, Ohio, to found a hospital at Quincy, was refused, owing to the small number of Sisters. "It was not until 1865, when Rev. P. Ferdinand Bergmeyer, O. F. M., pastor of St. Francis Solanus Church, made a trip to Cincinnati for the purpose of securing Sisters, that Sister Felicitas (the superior at Cincinnati) came to Quincy to survey the field," and the Sisters agreed to build a hospital in the city. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

which was attended by twenty-one children. The number soon increased to sixty. The baptism of seven negro children, April 22, 1878, caused an indignant protest on the part of the Methodists and Baptists. In 1878 the total number of baptisms was nineteen, which decreased to eleven in 1879, and dwindled to seven in 1880. Indeed, no stone was left unturned to pervert the colored Catholic children and many of them stayed away. Finally, Father Michael, by order of the Very Rev. Provincial, discontinued his work." The pastor of St. Boniface Church and his assistants then attended to the spiritual needs of the Catholic negroes, until July, 1886, when the Rev. August Tolton, the first colored priest in the United States, was installed as the regular pastor of St. Joseph's Negro Church.¹²

MISSIONS ATTENDED BY THE FATHERS

The first mission entrusted to the Franciscans of Quincy was that of *St. Antonius*, Melrose Township, Adams County, about five miles east of Quincy. The first settlers, all Germans, attended divine service at St. Boniface Church. When, in 1859, Rev. Schaefermeyer, pastor of that church, was assured that the Franciscans would found a house in the city, he began to organize a parish at St. Antonius. A frame church, 36x24 feet, with a sanctuary 12x12 feet, was erected on a tract of land comprising ten acres, which had been donated by Mr. Antony Bordewick and Mrs. Catherine Huenkmann. The church was placed under the patronage of St. Antony of Padua. Mass was said in it for the first time by Rev. Schaefermeyer, on December 6, 1859. Father Servatius Altmicks preached the sermon on this occasion. Rev. Schaefermeyer dedicated the church on November 11, 1861. The mission at that time consisted of twenty-six families. A school building of frame also was erected in 1859; in 1862 an addition was built to it, which served as the pastor's residence. The first Franciscan in charge of the mission was Father Maurice Klostermann. Services were held every Sunday, the Father arriving on Friday and remaining until Monday.

The increasing number of families soon necessitated the building of a larger church. Brother Adrian Wewer drew up the plans. The cornerstone of the new structure was laid on August 15, 1869, by Rev. Schaefermeyer, and on June 13, 1870, Bishop Baltes solemnly dedicated the church. It is of brick, in the Gothic style, 70x40 feet, with a steeple rising to a height of 125 feet. The old church was

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 179; Zurbonsen: *Read Roll, Etc.*, p. 130.

henceforth used for school purposes. Up to the year 1884, the children were taught by a lay teacher; in that year the pastor, Father Antony Moll, procured the services of the Sisters de Notre Dame. These were succeeded by the Franciscan Sisters of Christian Charity, from Alverno, Wisconsin, in 1892. The Sisters de Notre Dame again took charge of the school in 1912. Thus far one young man has been raised to the priesthood, and eleven young ladies have consecrated themselves to God in the religious life. The parish consists of seventy-two families, and is still attended by the Franciscans from Quincy.¹³

Another mission in Adams County attended by the Franciscans was *St. Joseph's Church, on Columbus Road*, about ten miles northeast of Quincy. The first settlers attended services at St. Boniface or at St. Francis Church in the city. Owing to the distance from these churches, the people, consisting of twenty-one families, in 1867, petitioned Bishop Juncker to organize a parish in their midst. The petition was granted, and steps were at once taken to erect a church and school. The former, a stone structure (on account of the abundance of good building stone in the vicinity), measuring 40x32 feet, was blessed in May, 1868. Mass was said in it for the first time by Father Bergmeyer, O. F. M. A school building of frame was also erected in 1868. The Franciscans attended this mission, at first twice a month, later once a month, from 1868 till 1888.¹⁴

About the middle of August, 1861, the Very Rev. Joseph Mueller, C. SS. R., came to Quincy and, in the name of the Bishop of Chicago, requested the Fathers to take charge of St. Joseph parish at Warsaw, Hancock County, which had been organized in 1858. The Franciscans expressed their readiness to accede to this request, but for various reasons, not the least of which was the dearth of priests, they could not attend the mission regularly until 1868. From this year on until February, 1874, they visited Warsaw and West Point, also in Hancock County, twice a month.¹⁵

Westwood, Jersey County, and Roodhouse, Green County, were regularly attended by the Franciscans from about the year 1872 till 1878. St. Joseph's Church, at Mount Sterling, Brown County, was administered by them from July, 1871 till August 1872, and again from June till September, 1884.¹⁶

¹³ *Souvenir of the Sixtieth Anniversary of St. Anthony's Parish, Melrose Township. Souvenir of St. Francis Parish*, p. 180. Bruener, p. 344.

¹⁴ *Souvenir of St. Francis Parish*, p. 189. Bruener, p. 348.

¹⁵ *Souvenir of St. Francis Parish*, p. 190.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

Owing especially to the dearth of priests in that state, the Fathers were also called upon to administer to the spiritual needs of the Catholics in Missouri. The main missions attended by them in this state were:

PALMYRA.—The Catholics at Palmyra, Marion County, were visited for some time by priests from Hannibal, in the same county, and from Quincy. Mass was said every second Sunday in a private house. The first Franciscan to visit the place was Father Anselm Mueller of Quincy. He seems to have held services regularly from February, 1865 till September, 1868. In 1866, a two-story wagon shop was purchased and converted into a church. Its patron was St. Joseph. The parochial residence was built in 1869 by Rev. Theodore Kussmann, a secular priest then in charge. A school was begun at an early date, probably about the year 1870. The present brick school, 45x29 feet, containing a basement and two stories, was erected in 1879. The Franciscans again took regular charge of the mission in the summer of 1873. A new church of brick, 101x46 feet, with a steeple 125 feet in height, was built in 1899 by Father Ulric Petri, O. F. M. The cornerstone was laid on May 22, 1899, by the Very Rev. Henry Muehlsiepen, Vicar General of the archdiocese of St. Louis. The new church was dedicated by Father Michael Richardt, O. F. M., on November 30, 1899. In 1916 the mission was returned to the Bishop.¹⁷

HAGER'S GROVE.—The first settlers at Hager's Grove, Shelby County, were German immigrants who arrived in 1856. Father Anselm Mueller, O. F. M., Rector of St. Francis Solano College at Quincy, who was summoned, in 1864 or 1865, to administer the last Sacraments to a sick person, was the first priest to visit the settlement. From that time, the Franciscans from Quincy said Mass every third Sunday in a private house, until the Fall of 1866, when the first church, measuring about 35x20 feet, was dedicated and placed under the patronage of St. Joseph. Mass was said in it for the first time by Father Anselm, on January 12, 1867. From this year or the next, the secular clergy were in charge of the mission until the year 1877, when the Franciscans established a friary at Wien, Chariton County, and accepted the charge of the missions Hager's Grove, Hamden, and Hurricane Branch, all in Chariton County, and of Lingo and New Cambria, Macon County. They attended these

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 185, *sqq.*

missions until the summer of 1914, when the parishes at Wien and Chillicothe with all their missions were relinquished to the Bishop.¹⁸

EWING.—The Franciscans began to visit the Catholics of this town, situated in Lewis County, occasionally in 1892. They took regular charge of the parish in 1893, and after some time succeeded in bringing it to a flourishing condition, especially by establishing a free parochial school. They had charge until 1916.¹⁹

Louisiana, Bowling Green, Clarksville, and St. Clement, all in Pike County, were attended every Sunday from about the year 1877 till 1882, but particulars of the activity of the Fathers there are, unfortunately, not available.

(To be Continued)

SILAS BARTH, O. F. M.

Teutopolis, Illinois.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 190, sq.

THE IRISH IN CHICAGO

The Irishman is, if anything, ubiquitous. No surprise need be felt in finding Irishmen at any place upon the habitable globe, and if to visit any quarter is venturesome, it would be strange if an Irishman were not the first there.

A very painstaking student of the doings of persons of Irish blood or ancestry in this country, Mr. Michael J. O'Brien, Historiographer of the American-Irish Historical Society, not long since delivered an address in Chicago in which he astonished even his Irish audience with the catalogue of "Irish Firsts" he had compiled, the address almost giving the impression that the Irish were first in everything and everywhere.

The claim for first place in discovery and settlement of Illinois is foreclosed against the Irish, however, in favor of the French; but as appears from a former paper, the Irish began early amongst subsequent comers to people the state.

As with the rest of the state, so it was with Chicago. The French had visited, paused at and some dwelt upon the site of Chicago before representatives of other races found their way here. Modern Chicago came into existence, however, when Fort Dearborn was planted on the Lake Shore in 1803, and the first settler, the real Father of Chicago¹ was the first Commander of Fort Dearborn, Captain and afterwards Major John Whistler, a native of Ireland.²

It has, of course, been claimed that not Whistler, but John Kinzie, was the Father of Chicago and much has been said and written to glorify this early trader, but it is beyond doubt that Kinzie did not come here until after the Fort was established. He was not, therefore, the first resident, nor was he by any means either the most important or the most worthy resident. John Whistler and his family have left a most enviable record, and undoubtedly was while here a much more public spirited man than Kinzie, while the record of Kinzie is by no means unblemished, and no mention is made in history of any sacrifices made for or benefit conferred upon the public by him.³

¹ Quaipe *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, p. 148.

² Andrews' *History of Chicago*, p. 80.

³ For a very enlightening discussion of the questions involved in this paragraph, see the excellent treatise of Milo Milton Quaipe, Superintendent of the Wisconsin Historical Society and one of the ablest historians that have studied Western history, entitled *Chicago and the Old Northwest*. Consult index.

Amongst the few residents of those very early days contemporary with Whistler and Kinzie were several of Irish extraction whose names have come down to us.

Dwelling about in the cabins of that early day were Thomas Burns and his family, Charles Lee and his family and Liberty White. Burns and Lee lived on the north bank of the river where, prior to 1812, there were only four houses, namely: Those of Burns, Lee (at Wolf Point) Kinzie and Antoine Ouilmette, while White lived on Lee's farm at Hardserabble, on the south branch of the Chicago River. Outside of Fort Dearborn and the Government houses, these were the only dwellings, and their inhabitants the only dwellers prior to 1812. The names and other circumstances indicate pretty clearly that Burns, Lee and White were of Irish extraction.⁴

The Government factor, Matthew Irwin, who came a little later, was an Irishman, a most worthy citizen. He was factor here from 1810 until the destruction of Fort Dearborn, August 15, 1812, and after the departure of Mr. Jouett, in 1811, probably acted also as agent. He was the son of Matthew Irwin, Sr., a native of Ireland, who settled in Philadelphia when quite young, and becoming a wealthy merchant, assisted the United States Government during the Revolution, by loaning it money for carrying on its plans. In September, 1777, he was appointed Quartermaster-General of Pennsylvania, and served in General Armstrong's division, then in the field. During 1778 and 1779 he was engaged in fitting out privateers and ships against the enemy, being appointed a naval agent for the State in the latter year, and commissioner for procuring salt for the public. In 1781 he was Port Warden for Philadelphia; from 1785 he served for several years as Recorder of Deeds and Master of Rolls of Philadelphia, and in 1787 was appointed Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. The mother of Matthew Irwin, Jr., was a sister of Thomas Mifflin, General in the Revolution and afterward Governor of Pennsylvania. His oldest brother, Thomas, was United States District Judge of Western Pennsylvania, and another brother was a merchant of Philadelphia. Matthew Irwin, Jr., was born, reared and educated at Philadelphia.⁵

Whistler was in Chicago in command of the Fort until 1810,

⁴ All of these names are common amongst Irish. Parish in his *When Wilderness was King* treats "Ol' Tom Burns" as an Irishman.

⁵ See satisfactory sketch, Andreas' *History of Chicago*, Vol. I, pp. 87, 88. See also Quaipe, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, p. 299. *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. VII, pp. 269. See letter of

when, as charged by some very reliable contemporaries, his transfer was brought about by intrigue in which Kinzie was concerned,* and it was a most unfortunate occurrence as the sequel showed when the post was later attacked by Indians, that being the first great event after the establishment of the Fort.

THE FORT DEARBORN MASSACRE

Benjamin F. Taylor, writer and poet has sadly told the tragedy of Fort Dearborn in a few lines:

"I saw a dot upon the map, and a housefly's filmy wing—
They said 'twas Dearborn's picket-flag, when Wilderness was King.
I heard the block-house gates unbar, the column's solemn tread,
I saw the Tree of a single leaf its splendid foliage shed
To wave awhile that August morn above the column's head;
I heard the moan of muffled drum, the woman's wail of fife,
The Dead March played for Dearborn's men just marching out of life;
The swooping of the savage cloud that burst upon the rank
And struck it with its thunderbolt in forehead and in flank,
The spatter of the mustket-shot, the rifle's whistling rain,—
The sandhills drift round hope forlorn that never marched again."

The little post had gone along quietly from its establishment in 1803⁷ to the summer of 1812. In that year war broke out between Great Britain and the United States. The English had by intrigue and bribery secured an alliance of greater or lesser extent with the Indians, and the existence of a state of war gave rein to the lawlessness of the savage. Every military post became accordingly an object of attack, and Fort Dearborn was no exception. During the summer, hostile bands of Indians began to gather near the Fort and menacing attacks increased as time passed, until in August the situation became critical. General James Hull was the General in charge of the Western Posts and fearing the savages, ordered Detroit and Fort Dearborn evacuated.

In the manner in which these orders were considered by the local commanders, we get an idea of the character of Captain John Whistler in contrast with that of the commander of Fort Dearborn who succeeded him, Captain Nathan Heald. When Hull's order to evacuate the Fort at Detroit was delivered to Captain Whistler, he deliberately refused to obey, saying that so long as he was commander he would

⁷The fort was garrisoned in 1803 despite many statements that it was established in 1804. See Andreas' *History of Chicago*, Vol. I, p. 80.

never raise a white flag to the savages.⁸ When, however, the order was delivered to Captain Heald, he supinely obeyed in direct opposition to the best advices of his officers and of those who were best acquainted with the situation, resulting, as we are all aware, in the massacre of his force shortly after they had evacuated the Fort.⁹

In this great historical event it is interesting to know who were the men concerned, what they were and how they acted their part. An answer to these inquiries will also indicate who were amongst the first inhabitants of Chicago.

Of the little band that walked out of Fort Dearborn on the 15th day of August, 1812, most of them to their death, there were of Irish extraction, Ensign George Rowan, Sergeant Otho Hays, Sergeant Thomas Burns, Quartermaster William Griffith, Drummers Hugh McPherson and John Hamilton, Privates James Corbin, Phelim Corbin, Dyson Dyer, Daniel Dougherty, John Furey, Samuel Kilpatrick, James Latta, Michael Lynch, Hugh Logan, Duncan McCarthy, John Simmons, Walter Jordan, John Smith, Sr., and John Smith, Jr.

In company with the soldiers of the Fort there were twelve civilians organized into a militia company, nine women and eighteen children. Amongst the women and children were Mrs. Charles Lee and her four children, Mrs. Phelim Corbin and three children, and Mrs. Thomas Burns, and two or three children.

It will be remembered that when this little band of soldiers and civilians had fairly left the Fort and were passing along the lake front, scarcely having reached as far as 18th Street of the present corporation, the treacherous Indians began their pre-conceived assault upon them, and now arose the supreme moment to test the fiber of the individuals who composed the group.

Amongst the advisors of the Captain, who was most outspoken in his opposition to the evacuation of the Fort, was George Rowan, a handsome stalwart young Irishman only two years from West Point, but with the characteristic courage and intrepidity of his race.

⁸ He broke his sword rather than surrender it to the British. Quaipe's *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, p. 168.

⁹ All authorities agree that Heald made a mistake in evacuating the fort and that everyone else who knew of the intended action advised against it. For discussion see Quaipe's *Chicago and the Old Northwest*; *Wau Bun*; Kirkland's *The Chicago Massacre*. Andrews' *History of Chicago* and Kirkland's *Story of Chicago*. Curry's *Chicago—Its History and Its Builders*, and *The Fort Dearborn Massacre* by Lieut. Helm, edited by Nellie Kinzie Gordon.

He had not only opposed the surrender or evacuation of the Fort and the destruction of the property, but had denounced such action as cowardly and unworthy, predicting the exact result that ensued. When the fight came on however, amongst all the contenders, save perhaps the gallant Captain Wells alone, Ensign Rowan proved the boldest and most valorous defender of his company and gave up his life to the superior forces like a true hero. In the best account which we have of this sanguinary battle, Rowan is singled out as the hero of the occasion. In *Waubun* Mrs. Juliette A. Kinzie who was present at the battle is reported as saying to Doctor Van Voorhees:

I pointed to Ensign Ronan, who though mortally wounded and nearly down, was still fighting with desperation on one knee: 'Look at that man,' said I, 'at least he dies like a soldier.'¹⁰

Again Mrs. Kinzie says:

I vividly recalled a remark of Ensign Ronan, as the firing went on. 'Such,' turning to me, 'is to be our fate—to be shot down like brutes.'

'Well sir,' said the commanding officer, who overheard him, 'are you afraid?'

'No,' replied the high-spirited young man, 'I can march up to the enemy where you dare not show your face.' And his subsequent gallant behavior showed this was no idle boast.¹¹

Mrs. Kinzie also details how Rowan rescued the Burns family before the battle. After the killing by the Indians of the two men at Hardscrabble some days before the massacre all of the residents of the little town came to the Fort and Mrs. Kinzie says:

It now occurred to those who had secured their own safety that the Burns family was still exposed to imminent peril. The question was, who would hazard his life to bring them to a place of security? The gallant young officer, Ensign Ronan, with a party of five or six soldiers, volunteered to go to their rescue.

They ascended the river in a scow, took the mother, with her infant, scarcely a day old, upon her bed to the boat, and carefully conveyed her with the other members of the family to the fort.¹²

But returning to the fight:

Back at the wagons where the women and children are gathered together with the hope of greater security, another incident of the

¹⁰ See Nellie Kinzie Gordon's *The Fort Dearborn Massacre* by Helm, p. 56.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 59.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 53.

battle attracts attention. There Sergeant Hays, giving his best efforts to the protection of the helpless, is in mortal conflict with several savage beasts, and after he had a ball through his body is pressed by a giant Indian, chief Naw-non-gee whom he succeeds in bayoneting, but just as his bayonet pierces the savage, the tomahawk in the savage's hand falls upon the head of the helpless sergeant; he falls, is set upon by other savages and killed.¹³

The wagons cleared of their defenders, are attacked by the savage band and the women and children beaten, lacerated and killed, but in that fray a heroic figure stands out; that of Susan Corbin the wife of Phelim Corbin. Like a tigress she defends her young and her companions. She has provided herself with a sword, and with it she lay about her like a man, striking down a savage here and there;¹⁴ she sees her little children grabbed up by the brutes making the attack and their brains dashed out against the walls of a near-by building.¹⁵ At length, however, by superior strength and numbers she is overcome, brutally murdered, and being in a delicate condition, her child is cut from her very womb and killed before her dying eyes.¹⁶

Mrs. Kinzie tells the story of Susan Corbin as follows:

The heroic resolution shown during the fight by the wife of one of the soldiers, a Mrs. Corbin, deserves to be recorded. She had from the first expressed the determination never to fall into the hands of the savages, believing that their prisoners were invariably subjected to tortures worse than death.

When, therefore, a party came upon her to make her prisoner she fought with desperation, refusing to surrender, although assured by signs, of safety and kind treatment. Literally, she suffered herself to be cut to pieces, rather than become their captive.¹⁷

Sergeant Thomas Burns also deserves special mention in connection with the massacre. Though a civilian at the time of the mas-

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 84. See also Quife's *Chicago and Northwestern*, p. 229.

¹⁴ Quife's *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, p. 207.

¹⁵ Hurlburt quotes the following from the letter of Mrs. Callus: "The home which my father lived was built before the massacre of 1812. I know this from the fact that 'White Elk,' an Indian Chief, and the tallest I ever saw, was pointed out to me as the savage that dashed out the brains of the children of Suky Corbin against the side of this very house." *Chicago Antiquities*, p. 105.

¹⁶ *The Niles Register* of October 23, 1812, states: "Mrs. Corbin, wife of Phelim Corbin, in an advanced stage of pregnancy was tomahawked, scalped, cut open and had the child taken out and its head cut off." See Kirkland's *Chicago Massacre of 1812*, p. 119.

¹⁷ Nellie Kinzie Gordon, *The Fort Dearborn Massacre*, p. 65.

sacre he was serving in the militia contingent organized for the occasion and was sergeant and leader. He had before been a soldier and after serving his four-year term of enlistment became a civilian and was one of the four residents of Chicago. He was the "Ol' Tom Burns of Parrish's, *When Wilderness was King*, who waged the desperate fight in the jungle. Heald speaks of "the soldierlike conduct of Burns while engaged with an unequal force of savages, and the manner in which he was inhumanly murdered." Fighting desperately against such great odds, he was wounded and disabled, an infuriated squaw after the battle was over and after the agreement to spare the survivors, attacked Burns and stabbed him to death with a stable fork.¹⁸

In like manner William Caldwell of whom more will appear later, is entitled to special commemoration and commendation. Caldwell was not in the fight, being absent from these parts, but immediately upon learning of the designs of the Indians started for Fort Dearborn with the purpose of preventing trouble. He was the Chief of the Pottowatomi Indians, although the son of an Irish officer of the British army. The fight was over when he arrived but he prevented further violence and is entitled to credit for saving the lives of the survivors.^{18a}

Amongst those who survived the attack were Sergeant and Quartermaster William Griffith, Phelim Corbin, James Corbin, Daniel Dougherty, Dyson Dyer, John Furey, Michael Lynch, Dennis McCarty and Hugh Logan. Almost immediately after the fight, Hugh Logan was murdered because he was not able to march as fast as the Indians wished to take him away from the scene of carnage. Of the others named, they were all, with the exception of Sergeant Griffith, taken prisoners, held for some nine months and subjected to the grossest indignities.¹⁹

¹⁸ Quaife's *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, pp. 233-4.

^{18a} See Nellie Kinzie Gordon's book, p. 73.

¹⁹ The names of those killed in the battle or soon after as analyzed by Quaife are George Ronan, Ensign, Isaac Van Voorhis, Surgeons Mate, Isaac Holt, Otto Hays, Thomas Forth, George Burnett, Hugh McPherson, John Hamilton, John Allin, George Adams, Priestly Andrews, Asa Campbell, Stephen Draper, Micajah Denison, John Fury, Rishard Garner, Wm. N. Hunt, frozen to death in captivity; Rhodias Jones Samuel Kilpatrick,, John Kelso, Jacob Landon, James Latta, Michael Lynch, Hugh Logan, Frederick Locker, August Mort, Peter Miller, John Needs; died in captivity, Thomas Poindexter, William Prichelt, Frederick Peterson, David Sherror, John Suttensfield, James Starr, John Simmons. Quaife's *Chicago and Old Northwest*, pp. 434-5-6.

The victims tortured to death by slow burning and otherwise were: Micajah

Some of the survivors were never afterwards heard from, but Mr. Quaife recently got trace of James Corbin through the Pension Office at Washington, and in the columns of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Magazine*, tells the privations and sufferings of this member of the ill-fated company of Fort Dearborn, and calls him one of America's unsung heroes.²⁰

On Michigan Boulevard, near 18th Street, marking approximately the point of the Fort Dearborn Massacre, a monument has been reared by Mr. George M. Pullman, commemorative of this great Chicago tragedy, and upon the north wall of a business house on Rush Street, there is a tablet also placed by private enterprise, reciting the main facts of the massacre. In the monument, the wife of Lieutenant Helm, the daughter of Kinzie who was wounded or maltreated; a Potawatomi Indian; the prostrate form of Doctor Van Voorhees who according to the only record we have acted the part of a coward, and a little child are represented; but in neither the monument nor in the bronze tablet is the names of Ensign Rowan, of Sergeant Hayes, of Susan Corbin or of Sergeant Burns, the four heroic figures of this bloody day, represented or alluded to. Names have been given streets in reference to some of the participants of this terrible tragedy (that of Captain Wells most deservedly bestowed), but nowhere so far as I have ever learned has any public recognition been shown any of the large number of men, women and children of Irish birth or extraction who were conspicuous in this massacre.

It seems necessary in order to keep the history of this bloody tragedy straight to say that General Hull who ordered the evacuation of the several forts, including Fort Dearborn, was court-martialed for cowardice, found guilty, but pardoned by the President; and though opinion be somewhat divided, most of the investigators of the history of the surrender of Fort Dearborn, have arrived at the conclusion that the Commander, Captain Heald was a coward. It should be

Denison, John Fury, Richard Garner, James Latta, Michael Lynch, Thomas Poindexter.

²⁰ Vol. I, No. 4, p. 561.

²¹ I have found interpolated in parenthesis in a reproduction of part of a letter written Mrs. Callis, a daughter of the Factor Jouelt, a statement that Susan Corbin was "(camp-follower and washerwoman)". I have seen no other authority for the statement. She was beyond doubt the wife of Phelim Corbin, and undoubtedly of the stuff of which heroes are made. For statement see Kirkland's *Chicago Massacre of 1812*, p. 48.

noted also that the terms of his surrender were such that he and his family were saved. In passing too, it should be noted that the canny silversmith and trader, Kinzie, whose son-in-law, Captain Helm, was second in command was able to save his scalp and his life and those of his family.

AFTER THE MASSACRE

The effect of the massacre was to depopulate Chicago. Save for Antoine Ouilmette,²² who was here years before any of the others mentioned, and another Frenchman named Du Pim, there was no white man living in Chicago or its vicinity until the Government sent a force to rebuild the Fort in 1816.

The second Fort Dearborn was under the command first of Hezekiah Bradely, whose last name indicates Irish origin. He had with him several Irishmen or at least men with Irish names. He was succeeded by Major, afterward Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Cummings, and he by Major Daniel Baker.

Not long after the second fort was built, rather unique character in Chicago history who had lived in the neighborhood prior to the establishment of the first Fort Dearborn—Billy Caldwell, came to reside in Chicago. Caldwell was the son of an Irish Colonel in the English army and of his lawful wife, the daughter of the great Indian chief, Tecumseh. He was a man of education having been educated at the Jesuit College in Detroit, a practical Catholic and altogether a very worthy citizen. As before stated he arrived in Chicago at the time of the Fort Dearborn Massacre just too late to prevent that great tragedy, but in time to save several of the victims from Indian barbarity. As indicating that he was quite a distinguished man, it may be noted that in the 20's he was a Captain in the English army, a Squire or Justice of the Peace of the village of Chicago and the head chief of the tribe of the Potawatomi Indians in the territory. He became a landowner, a highly respected citizen and a very great power for good in the community.²³

²² A letter signed by Ouilmette by his mark witnessed by James Moore is published in facsimile in *The New World*, April 14, 1900, stating, "I came to Chicago in the year 1790 in July." Ouilmette was here when Whistler came and when Kinzie came. He was here during and after the massacre. For an extended examination of Ouilmette's claim, see Grover's *Some Indian Landmarks of the North Shore*, Pamphlet, p. 277 et seq., Chicago Historical Society Pub.

²³ See short biographical notice, Kirkland's *The Story of Chicago*, p. 27. For an extended biographical notice, see Andreas' *History of Chicago*, Vol. I, pp. 109

The first school teacher, of which we have a definite mention, was one William Cox, who, in 1816 taught school in the bake-house of the old Fort Dearborn, having for his pupils the children of some of the members of the garrison.²⁴

John C. Sullivan, a surveyor, came in 1819 to run the old Indian boundary line.²⁵ James and Peter Riley, sons of Judge Riley of Schenectady were here before 1819.²⁶ There was a Doctor McMahon²⁷ here at the same time and Henry Kelly²⁸ was then a resident of the little town. John Murphy became the proprietor of the Sagaunash, Beaubian's Hotel in 1826 and after his death his widow continued to manage the hotel. Long John Wentworth tells with a great deal of pride of living with Murphy when he first came to Chicago and of celebrating his advent to this city by dining with the Murphys annually. John Murphy was a man of importance and prominence and his wife was very well known and very highly respected.²⁹

Somewhere between 1816 and 1820 Michael Welsh or Walsh came to the Chicago and several writers have stated that he was the first Irishman to reach Chicago. From what has been before said it is plain that he was far from the first, but whereas some of the writers have referred to him as a laborer and quite lightly the facts are that he was a man of parts. He had served his country well in the navy and had an honorable discharge and set out in this new town to make his way in life. He had been a bugler in the navy and took up one hundred and sixty acres of land on the south branch of the river for which he paid cash to the government and which he farmed with some success. He married Elizabeth, the daughter of Antoine Ouilmette. In 1830 Welsh joined Brown's rangers, organized to protect the frontiers against the Indian depredations and went with the company on a campaign against the Indians. His grandson, John L. Walsh, succeeded to his property and became a distinguished school man as superintendent of all the schools of South Chicago. John L. Walsh contributed largely to the expense of organizing the Irish Legion, 90th Illinois Infantry hereinafter referred to.³⁰ The

and 109. See also good sketch, Curry's *Chicago—Its History and Its Builders*, Vol. I, p. 123-4.

²⁴ Andreas' *History of Chicago*, p. 204.

²⁵ Rogers Avenue marks the Indian Boundary Line.

²⁶ Hurlburt's *Chicago Antiquities*, p. 106.

²⁷ Andreas' *History of Chicago*, Vol. I, p. 90.

²⁸ Came in 1826, native of Ireland, Kirkland's *History of Chicago*, VI., p. 79.

²⁹ Andreas' *History of Chicago*, Vol. I, p. 633.

³⁰ After Walsh's death his widow married Louis R. Darling of Silver Lake,

Walsh property, of course, became valuable and the family an important one in the community, and there are still very worthy representatives of the family in Chicago.³¹

THE NEW TOWN AND CITY

Colonel John McNeill became commander of Fort Dearborn in 1821 and so remained until the Fort was abandoned in 1823. Colonel McNeill was the tallest man in the army and divided the honors with Long John Wentworth of being the tallest man in Illinois. He entered the army in 1812 and served until 1830. He was twice breveted in the single month of July, 1814 for distinguished and gallant conduct in the battles of Chippewa and Niagara. Physically he shared with General Scott the reputation of being the most gigantic man in the army. His wife was a half sister of President Franklin Pierce.³²

Kansas. Andreas' *History of Chicago*, Vol. I, p. 92 The following appeared in the *South Chicago Calumet* of May 26, 1890: "He was born in the City of Chicago in 1838. His uncle, Michael Walsh, a sailor in the navy during the war of 1812, took up 160 acres of government land along the south branch of the Chicago river on what is now the West Side. This land, densely timbered, and known as the Walsh woods, was left in the owner's will to his two nephews, John and Luke. They, not appreciating its value, allowed it to slip out of their possession. Then the two boys were taken by Bishop Vandeveld and placed in the institution then known as the University of St. Mary of the Lake. After growing to manhood and acquiring means John Walsh helped substantially in building St. Patrick's church, and the Jesuit church on 12th Street. The Walsh school was named after him. During the war he assisted in the formation of the Ninety-first Regiment. The remainder of his property Mr. Walsh lost in western mines. Then returning to Chicago he taught in the Bowen school, and was shortly afterwards made superintendent of all of the schools in South Chicago. During President Cleveland's administration he was appointed postmaster, which position he filled until death came. He was married to Margaret E. McGovern, daughter of John McGovern, and was a brother-in-law of Rev. James J. McGovern of Lockport, Ill. He leaves a wife, daughter, Mrs. Dr. F. H. Kidder, and two sons."

³¹ The facts relating to this, one of the earliest Chicago pioneers are furnished me by Miss Mary Frances Kidder, a granddaughter of John L. Walsh, and a sketch artist of ability, Miss Cecelia M. Young, the talented author of the very excellent pageant play, "*The Illinois Trial*," depicting the history of Illinois, is a niece of Rev. J. J. McGovern, mentioned in the above note. These facts are additional proof if any were needed of the good qualities of the earliest Walsh's in Chicago.

³² From 1816, the time of the rebuilding of Fort Dearborn to 1830, "Chicago gained only some 12 or 15 homes and a population of less than 100." *Chicago*

During this time Doctor Wolcott was Indian Agent at the Fort and Alexander Doyle was the sub-agent.

In 1832 Fort Dearborn was again reoccupied and this time by Major William Whistler, son of Captain John Whistler its first builder and the father and founder of Chicago. Major Whistler was a worthy son of a noble sire and was in charge of the Fort during the Blackhawk War.^{22a} Six members of the Whistler family were counted among the congregation of Old St. Mary's and Father St. Cyr, the first pastor of Chicago made his home with Major Whistler and his family until other arrangements were made.²³

After Fort Dearborn was again re-occupied in 1832, Colonel Thomas Joseph Vincent Owen was made Indian Agent, and acted in that capacity in 1831-32-33, thus covering the period of the final Indian Treaty negotiated at Chicago under which the Indians were in a measure compensated for their Illinois possessions and removed to a reservation in Kansas. He was one of the most distinguished and capable of the earliest settlers of Chicago. He was elected to the first council or Board of Trustees of the village by popular vote, and was by the board, elected its first president, and is thus entitled to the distinction of being the first presiding officer (corresponding to mayor) of Chicago. The ordinances passed by this first legislative body were known as "The Ten Commandments." He, in connection with Richard R. Hamilton, established the first school of a public nature by the employment of Stephen Forbes as teacher, and he signed the petition which was sent to Bishop Rosati at St. Louis for a priest to establish the first church here, later known as Old St. Mary's. His wife was a niece of United States Senator Elias Kent Kane.

Owen and "Billy" Caldwell dissuaded the Potawatomi from joining Blackhawk's force in the Blackhawk War.

Colonel Owen was cut off in the prime of life and in the midst

Magazine, May 1857, cited in Kirkland's *The Story of Chicago*, p. 87. Amongst those who came to Chicago, in the period besides those mentioned in the text were Billy Caldwell, spoken of before, and Alexander Robinson, another Catholic Indian Chief, a worthy pioneer and benefactor of the White people and of Chicago. Outside of the Kinzie family including the Clarks, Clybourne's and Millers the remaining dwellers were French or French and Indians mixed.

^{22a} Quaife's *The Development of Chicago*, p. 80. Also Quaife's *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, p. 282.

²³ Rev. Dr. J. J. McGovern, in *The New World*, April 14, 1900, p. 21. On the 15th of June, 1838, Rev. Timothy O'Meara, pastor of old St. Mary's, baptized John, Mary, William and Elizabeth Whistler, children of Major John Whistler.



JOHN STEPHEN COATES HOGAN, Postmaster



JOHN CALHOUN
Editor *Chicago Democrat*, First Paper
Published in Chicago.



WILLIAM B. EGAN, M. D.
First Great Orator in Chicago.

of his splendid activities for Chicago, dying in 1834 and was buried in Old St. Mary's, Father St. Cyr, the first Pastor, having charge of the funeral services and entering the burial as one of the very earliest funeral entries in the church records.³⁴

About the same time, John Stephen Coates Hogan came to the settlement, and as early as 1831 was taking care of what little mail came here for distribution. While it is frequently stated that Hogan was the first postmaster, it is literally true that Jonathan N. Bailey held the first commission as postmaster for a very short time, but Hogan was the acting postmaster and was on the 2nd of November, 1832, commissioned as postmaster. Hogan and Bailey were closely connected, as Mr. Hogan married Bailey's daughter. Hogan was elected Justice of the Peace at the first contested election ever held in Chicago. He had an opponent in the person of William Clybourne, a son-in-law of John Kinzie, but defeated Mr. Clybourne. He was said by Mr. Bates, one of the scholarly men among the early settlers to be the best educated man in Chicago during his lifetime there. Hogan was in the forefront of every activity in the new settlement, the organizer of the militia, a member of the town council and in general one of the most public spirited men during his time. He also signed the petition to Bishop Rosatti for the establishment of the Catholic church here.³⁵

Almost the first, if not the first lawyer to establish himself here and open an office for the permanent practice of law was John Dean Caton, who arrived in Chicago June 19th, 1833. He was of Irish ancestry, his grandfather having been a native of Ireland,³⁶ and enjoys at this distance from his public career, the reputation of being at least amongst the greatest men who ever resided in Illinois. He was a leading light of the new town, had a prominent part in all its activities, engineered its organization as a city, contributed his full share as a local magistrate in the capacity of Justice of the Peace, early became a judge and eventually sat upon the Supreme Bench

³⁴ See Munell's *History of Chicago*, pp. 87, 88, 91, 92. See Andreas' *History of Chicago*, pp. 36, 91, 115 117, 119, 124, 128, 130, 175, 205, 207, 268, 271, 289, 365, 507. Curry's *Chicago—Its History and Its Builders*, Vol. I, pp. 195, 196, 204, 221.

³⁵ See Andreas' *History of Chicago*, Vol. I, pp. 112, 116, 147, 168, 175, 178, 182, 184, 269, 276, 289, 420. Kirkland, *The Story of Chicago*, Vol. I, pp. 112, 128, 129, 168.

³⁶ Andreas' *History of Cook County*, p. 267. Kirkland's *Story of Illinois*, Vol. I, p. 133, note.

for twenty-six years. He was one of the most scholarly men that ever came to the Supreme Court, and is conceded to have been one of the ablest jurists which Illinois has produced.³⁷

Near the same time came Dr. William B. Egan, who was a most distinguished citizen. He was the silver-tongued orator of every public occasion; the man chosen by common consent to voice the desires of the young community; the most powerful volunteer proponent of the Illinois and Michigan Canal and the most effective in the numerous campaigns waged for its promotion.³⁸

I have found a specimen of Dr. Egan's eloquence which I think the reader will enjoy as well as a little gem by Captain Patrick Kelley by way of response to Dr. Egan. The Montgomery Guards was a very early military organization organized in 1842, survived the Mexican War and the long period of peace succeeding, and was amongst the first to volunteer for service in the Civil War. The officers in 1842 were Captain Patrick Kelley, First Lieutenant W. B. Snowhook, Second Lieutenant Henry Cunningham, Third Lieutenant Michael O'Bryan. At the same time a Cavalry Company was organized and we are told that:

These two earliest independent companies of Chicago were attached to the 60th Regiment of Illinois Militia. Both these companies appeared in new uniforms on July 4th, 1842. The Chicago Cavalry headed the procession and the Montgomery Guards were presented a flag on that occasion. The *Chicago American*, July 5th, gives an account of the presentation celebration as follows:

On presenting the standard Dr. Egan thus addressed the company: 'Gentlemen of the Montgomery Guards,—you have honored me in receiving at my hands the banner—accept it. It is the first that has been presented in our new city, may it be the last to suffer in defeat. Behold! it unfurls to the breeze the name of the illustrious Montgomery; it wakes up glorious associations of the chivalrous dead. It points as a beacon light to the shadowy future. Remember! humble as you are now, the disjointed times may call upon some spirit from amongst your ranks to shed his blood for a nation's rights and to leave behind him a name like that which now floats upon the breeze above you. He was but one of the many sons of Erin's Isle that planted the seed of liberty in a foreign land, and watered it with his blood. History points equally to the torrid regions of the fiery South; the snow-clad hills of Canada; the sunny valleys of France; and the

³⁷ See extended biography first citation.

³⁸ See Andreas' *History of Chicago*, Vol. I, pp. 152, 162, 227, 236, 276, 258, 290, 334, 335, 450, 460, 594, 612, 634. Kirkland's *The Story of Chicago*, Vol I, pp. 112, 113, 114, 128, 132, 133, 147, 157, 181, 194, 249.

orange groves of Spain—and each bears testimony in our favor. Let the spirit that actuated such, inspire you, and hover over this banner as an heirloom from father-land—a talisman to lead you on to glory. Remember your country has claims on you yet—she bids you be united and firm in support of your own rights, and yield an equality to all. She bids you spurn the oppressor, by whatsoever name he may be called, and to walk upright, for the eye of the stranger is upon you. Farewell and remember your God, your country, and your rights.'

Capt. Kelley replied as follows:

We receive this banner gratefully at your hands. We pledge ourselves to keep its ample folds floating in the breeze until we shall have the honor to say that we, the Montgomery Guards, have added fresh laurels to our adopted country. We shall ever be ready to meet the enemy first in action and last out. The British flag, it is true, has dotted the globe, but it has marked it with cruelty and oppression; but the star-spangled banner is hailed everywhere as the harbinger of freedom, the hope of the oppressed and the terror of tyrants. The sympathies of the whole world are following its course as it ploughs the ocean in search of distant climes, and unborn millions will yet bless the hour when it was unfurled to wage unceasing war upon the oppressors of mankind.³⁰

(To be continued)

Chicago.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

³⁰ Andreas' *History of Chicago*, Vol. I, p. 276.

TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF FORT CHARTRES

The French-English struggle for empire in America left fewer landmarks than one might expect to find after so recent a battle of Titans; it is much as if the vanquished, after the manner of true French politeness, had taken leave without a formal adieu, after taking precautions to leave nothing about that might remind the victor of the disagreeable fact that there had ever been an adversary.

One of the most interesting monuments to French occupation of the Mississippi Valley belongs to the early history of Illinois and in its ruins stands as a perpetual reminder, not only of a territory of old France, but also, one indicating all the romance of the dream of French empire as the great La Salle dreamed it.

Fort Chartres was but one of a line of forts built to unite Canada with the West and the South. On the advice of La Salle to Louis XIV, this line of forts was established as protection against the great rivals, Spain and England, and also, to serve as centers of colonization.

The discovery of valuable mineral deposits in the Illinois country, notably lead mines, and the organization of John Law's great Company of the West and of the Indies, with the lure of promised gold and silver mines in the region, made the placing of a fort in this part a matter of necessity to hold the territory for France.

Father Jean Mermet, from Kaskaskia, sent word to the Governor of Canada as early as 1715 of the encroachment of the English near the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers, and when Pierre Dugue de Boisbriant arrived with a commission from France as Commandant of Illinois in 1718, he selected as the site of the fort to be built, a spot sixteen miles above Kaskaskia.

The first structure was of wood timbers, hewn from the adjacent forests; barracks, commandant's house, store-house, and great hall of the company of the West, mounted with cannon bearing the insignia of Louis XIV. In 1720 the flag of France floated over the structure named in honor of the son of the regent of France, the young Duke de Chartres.

No sooner was the fort erected than a town, Nouvelle Chartres, sprang up at its gates and here the Jesuits established the parish of St. Anne de Fort Chartres, the records of which furnish much data for early Illinois history.

SEAT OF GOVERNMENT

The great fort became immediately the center of the civil government of Illinois.¹ In 1721, a decree promulgated by Louis XV in 1716, arrived at the parish of St. Anne. It was for the purpose of arranging the order of precedence for the official dignitaries who attended the church, so that the seating according to rank would be according to a plan that should obviate friction. It was sent to all parishes and entered in the parish register.

Pierre Dugue de Boisbriant, commandant, Marc Antoine de la Loire des Ursins, the director of the great company of the West and Michel Chassin, commissary of the company, formed the Provincial Council of the Illinois which dispensed civil government from the fort.

THE CENTER OF FASHION

Besides being the headquarters of the civil government, the fort was also the center for the great social functions of which there were many in the days of official French occupancy. There are many accounts of these social affairs in the early history of the region.²

The French assisted their Indian allies in struggles with other Indian tribes; one of these wars was waged unsuccessfully against

¹ "The first fort cost one million crowns. . . . It became immediately the seat of military power. Large warehouses and factories were erected by the trading companies and New Chartres sprang up. . . . Philip Renault, secretary of the French Trading company, brought with him mechanics, slaves, settlers and miners. . . . Mather, *The Making of Illinois*, p. 86.

² "All roads lead to Chartres" was the common saying of early days in all the settlements in the new world.

The people of the fort and village led a merry life. Lordly processions of gentlemen and richly dressed ladies marched into the chapel to hear Mass. Gay hunting parties issued from the gates of the fort and returned at night full laden with the spoils of the chase." Mather, *The Making of Illinois*, p. 87.

What these spoils were may be gathered from a letter from Father Louis Viviers, dated June 8, 1750, in which he says: "Wild cattle, deer, elk, bears, and wild turkeys, abound. Swans, bustards, geese, ducks of three kinds, wild pigeons and teal, overrun the country during autumn, winter and spring." He mentions also, grouse, partridge and hares. Bossu, who accompanied Chevalier Makarty, and was the historian of the early days at the fort, mentions the same wild game and its great abundance in his accounts of the life in the Illinois.

Stately receptions were given, where officers in uniforms covered with gold lace, danced with ladies robed in velvet and satins. The fashions of Paris were reproduced in this military station on the distant Mississippi. Mather, *The Making of Illinois*.

the Foxes, and Indians and French retired to the safety of the fort. In a subsequent war, the French troops succeeded in making peace for their allies.

The young commandant, Pierre D'Artaguiette took the post in 1734 and in 1736 lost his life in an expedition against the Chickasaws who were incited to war by the British.³ Failure of troops from New Orleans to join the forces from Fort Chartres in time, caused the death of this gallant young officer and his companions. D'Artaguiette and his brave band have been the theme of song and story for near two centuries. He was the New World type of the Chevalier Bayard and we are glad to associate his shining name with the old Fort Chartres.⁴

³ In 1736, Gov. Bienville resolved to crush the troublesome Chickasas and called upon D'Artaguiette at Fort Chartres and Vincennes at Fort Vincennes to co-operate with him in an expedition for that purpose. Francis Morgan, otherwise known as Vincennes, commanded at Fort Vincennes. He was said to be a brother-in-law of Joliet. He was of Irish descent. He was young and had already acquired a reputation for great bravery. His garrison was augmented by Indian allies of many tribes among whom were some Iroquois. With them went volunteers from all the French villages, and many of the Kaskaskias. The distinguished Indian chief Chicago led the Illinois and Miamis. Indians from as far away as Detroit joined the forces and all sailed down the Mississippi to join Bienville.

The Chickisa trouble all resulted from the intrigues of the English who, from the beginning of the settlement of Louisiana, used all their endeavors to incite the Chickisas to deeds of violence against the French. This Chickisa war was fought under the British flag and the British were the leaders and aggressors. The Indians in their attack on D'Artaguiette were led by about thirty Englishmen. Gayarre, *History of Louisiana*, Vol. I, p. 486.

⁴ Bossu tells the story briefly, as related by Sergeant Louis Gamot, an eye witness, one of the men of the expedition, who escaped from the enemy by stratagem. . . . "M. d'Artaguiette was taken with seven officers and about twenty-six soldiers and inhabitants, by the Chickisas, who burnt them alive. Among them was Father Senat, who went with M. d'Artaguiette in the quality of chaplain." Monnette gives the story in greater detail.

"In due time, d'Artaguiette and his lieutenant, the gallant Vincennes, and their allies, penetrated the Chickisas' county, prepared to maintain the arms and honor of France. Two attacks against the enemy were successful; in the third, d'Ataguiette was wounded, causing a panic among the Indians who fled, leaving their French leaders on the field at the mercy of the enemy. Father Senat might have escaped, but remained to receive the last sigh of the wounded, regardless of danger, mindful only of duty. Vincennes, too, the Canadian, refused to fly, and shared the captivity of his leader."

The account goes on to say that the victors cared for the wounds of their captives, at first hoping for large ransoms from Bienville; but hearing that this leader had retired south again, they resolved to slaughter all the living, and the

One of the original documents coming down to us from those old days is a deed executed at Fort Chartres by Alphonse de la Buissoniere, Commandant of the Illinois, and Madame Therese Trudeau, his wife. During his governorship were the halcyon days of the French settlers at the Illinois. The Indians were kept in check, the fertile soil yielded bounteous harvests, two convoys with grain and provisions went each year to New Orleans, and lower Louisiana became almost dependent upon them for supplies.

Other French villages sprang up around the fort, Prairie du Rocher and St. Philip, and hither came scions of noble families from the old country, seeking fortune, fame and adventure, whose names appear with their titles at ceremonious length on the parish registers; with these good families came traditions of refinement and education and gentle breeding, invaluable gifts to bring to a wilderness, the evidences of which remain in all accounts of the early history in the fact that they lived in peace and harmony with each other, without the aid of the law, and that their manners and social intercourse were inspirations to all visiting travelers. Their social functions were carried out with meticulous attention to ceremony which is also a matter of record.

Captain Benoist de St. Clair, a gallant young Irishman, succeeded La Buissoniere who sought more active military service than could be had in those piping times of peace around the fort in the year 1742.

In turn St. Clair was succeeded by Chevalier de Bertel.

The parish register of St. Anne's has the title page of the new volume opened, inscribed thus:

Numbered and initialed by us, Principal Secretary of the Marine and Civil Judge of the Illinois, the present book, containing seventy-four leaves to serve as a Register of the Parish of St. Anne's, of Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths. Done at Fort Chartres, the first of August, 1743.

CHEVALIER DE BERTEL
Major Commandant

DE LA LOIRE,
Flancour.

The parish register spares no time or words in setting down the record of the families of the officers at the fort. We find Jean La

melancholy account closes'' The young and intrepid d'Artaguet and the heroic Vincennes . . . and the faithful Senat, true to his mission, were, with their companions, each tied to stakes . . . were tortured before slow and intermittent fires until death released them from their protracted torments.'' Monnette, *The Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, pp. 240-246.

Freile de Vidrinne, officer, married to Elizabeth de Moncharveaux, daughter of Jean Francis Liveron de Moncharveaux, captain, and Monsieur Andre Chevalier, royal solicitor and treasurer weds Madeline Loisel, and all with their full names, titles and ancestry given in full, and Makarty, commandant, Buchet, principal writer, and DuBarry, lieutenant, all the dignitaries of the fort and village, and all the relatives sign the register as witnesses. The parish register was transferred to Prairie du Rocher where many of the records of the fort were also found.

De Bertel came to the fort in difficult times. Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa, in their inability to agree, prepared the stage for war. Some Englishmen, accused of being spies, were confined in the dungeon of Fort Chartres, and rumors of an English invasion were rife. De Bertel begged his superior officer to re-inforce the fort, which was getting to be so badly conditioned that it was purposed to abandon it as a place no longer possible to defend. Finally, the Governor General of Canada wrote to the home government in France: "The little colony of Illinois ought not to be left to perish. The King must sacrifice for its support. The principal advantages of the country are its extreme productiveness and its connection with Canada and Louisiana, and it must be maintained."

In 1750, DeGalissonniere again urged the importance of strengthening and preserving the post of Illinois, describing the country as open and ready for the plough, and traversed by innumerable buffaloes. "And these animals," he says, "are covered with a fine fur or species of wool, sufficiently fine for manufactories; the buffalo, if caught and attached to the plow, would move it at a speed superior to that of the domestic ox."

It might well take the imagination that could foresee empire in the Mississippi to envisage a buffalo at a plow.

MAKARTY THE FORT BUILDER

In the succeeding year, the Chevalier de Makarty, major of engineers, came from France, under orders to rebuild the citadel of the Illinois country. Soon a full regiment of French grenadiers came to the fort. They proceeded to change the structure from one of wood to one of stone, under the skillful guidance of this trained officer whose Irish blood and French commission made his work a double glory to him.

To this day may be seen the place in the bluffs east of the fort where were quarried the huge blocks, which they carried across the

little lake intervening. The finer stone with which they faced the gateways and other parts of the building was brought from beyond the Mississippi.⁵

A million crowns seemed not unreasonable expense to the King across the water for the great fortress which was to keep his dominion in America for France, the Empire of the West.⁶

THE CONTEST FOR SUPREMACY

The final contest between France and England began even before the new fort was finished. In May, 1754, George Washington, with his Virginia riflemen, surprised Jumonville de Villiers at Great Meadows and slew him. Jumonville's brother, Neyon de Villiers, one of the captains at Fort Chartres, obtained leave from Makarty to avenge his death. His party captured Fort Necessity from "Monsieur Wachenson" and this was one of the causes assigned by George the Second for the declaration of hostilities by Great Britain, and the Old French War began.

From this time on during the war, expeditions went forth from Fort Chartres, and returned there, first with victory for the French, and, finally, with Great Britain in the ascendancy.

At the end of a long series of disasters, once more the drums beat to arms on the parade grounds at Fort Chartres to raise the siege of Niagara. Of the defeat there, Makarty writes: "The defeat at Niagara has cost me the flower of my men. My garrison is weaker than ever. The British are building bateaux at Pittsburg. I have made all arrangements to receive the enemy."

⁵ The plans and specifications for the new Fort Chartres were drawn by Lieutenant Jean B. Saussier, or Saucier, a French engineer, a maternal ancestor of Dr. J. F. Snyder, former president of the State Historical Society. From *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. 8 (1903), pp. 105-107.

Captain Bossu, a French Marine, writes in 1756, that the fort cost 5,000,000 livres; it was capable of containing three hundred men and that it was near completion. From *Transactions of the Illinois Historical Society*, Vol. 8.

⁶ Captain Philip Pittman, sent (1767) to survey forts, fully described Fort Chartres and concludes, "It is generally conceded that this is the most commodious and best built fort in North America."

⁷ Fort Chartres was the depot for arms, munitions, and army supplies of all kinds, as well as the seat of military and civil government for . . . the French possessions . . . between Canada and Louisiana.

Its garrison perhaps never numbered a thousand men, and the fixed ordnance exceeded but little, a dozen guns. Its great value lay in its power to maintain order in the wilderness, its protection of weak colonies by deterring Indian hos-

THE LAST DAYS OF FRENCH COMMAND

The surrender at Montreal of the Canadas followed the victory of the Plains of Abraham, but still the Illinois held for the French King. Neyon de Villiers was promoted to command at Fort Chartres. And the fine old soldier, Makarty, doubtless regretting that he was not to have the opportunity to test the strength of the great stone walls he had laid so well, sheathed his sword and departed. Holding the fort and waiting for the British to appear was not an attractive pursuit for the active De Villiers and so he resigned to be succeeded by the faithful Louis St. Ange de Belle Rive.

New Chartres, a well-established community, rested secure in the belief for some time, that although Canada had fallen, Louisiana would still remain to the King. Like a thunder-clap came the news that on the tenth of February, 1763, Louix XV had transferred it to the British with a stroke of his pen.

tilities, and also its availability for collection and distribution of soldiers, munitions and commissary supplies.

During the French and Indian war, requisitions were made on Fort Chartres for soldiers, arms, ammunition, and provisions . . . to the point of almost complete exhaustion.

In May, 1754, Captain Neyon de Villiers left Fort Chartres with a hundred picked men, went to Fort DuQuesne, and there joined an expedition against Fort Necessity, where George Washington surrendered to the French.

In 1755 came a request from Fort DuQuesne for flour and pork. Again, Captain de Villiers went to Fort DuQuesne with his company as escort to a flat-boat with 18,000 pounds of provisions.

From Fort Chartres, garrisons were maintained at Cahokia and Kaskaskia . . . and its troops performed police duty as far east as Vincennes.

In May, 1757, Captain Charles Phillippe Aubry, with one hundred and fifty soldiers, one hundred Indians, allies, and three cannon, set out to meet an English force reported to be advancing to attack Illinois. Not encountering the enemy, after a march of a hundred leagues . . . on his return journey, he built Fort Ascension near the junction of the Massee creek and the Ohio river. In 1758, he returned to DuQuesne with 400 men, arms and supplies. Here in an engagement, he defeated a regiment, the Sixty-second Highlanders. In 1759, Major Makarty sent Aubry with 300 soldiers and 200,000 pounds of flour, to raise the siege of Niagara. After defeat at Niagara, the expedition stopped at Fort Ascension, enlarged it and named it Fort Massac, and this fort at once became a charge on Fort Chartres.

In April, 1760, Makarty said, "I have caused Fort Massac to be terraced, fraized, and fortified, piece upon piece, with a strong ditch." At the surrender, it had eight guns mounted. Snyder's *Transactions Illinois State Historical Society* (190.), p. —.



Powder Magazine Before Its Restoration in 1913.



Powder Magazine as Restored.



Fort Chartres on the Mississippi River about 60 miles South of St. Louis. Built in 1720, rebuilt as above in 1750-5. From a painting in the North corridor, first floor, of the State House, Springfield, Illinois.



St. Ange with forty men still held the fort, after many of the spirited officers and residents had taken their families and started out to follow to some place where they might find the French flag still floating and where they might escape that of England and of Spain. Their wanderings, disappointments and sufferings before they arrived at the happy day when they could live under the Stars and Stripes of the New Republic make another story. Fort Chartres was destined never to include in its history the honor and glory of carrying this flag, as it was abandoned as a fortress before the coming of our government to this region.

Fort Chartres was the last place in North America to fly the white flag of the Bourbons. Chief Pontiac was one of the obstacles to the lowering of this lone flag. After defeating four different expeditions sent by the English to take over the fort, Pontiac one day entered the tall gateway with his retinue of warriors and said to St. Ange: "Father, I have long wished to see thee, to recall battles we have fought together against the misguided Indians and the dogs of English. I love the French and I have come here with my Indians to avenge their wrongs."

But St. Ange with a heavy heart, had to convey to the faithful Indian ally that all was indeed over for France, and that his services no longer availed. On the tenth of October, 1765, the lilies of France gave place to the Red cross of St. George. At Fort Chartres, the Great Empire of France in the New World ceased forever. "French soldiers and even Indian warriors wept when the lilies of France were hauled down from above the walls. St. Ange and his little garrison withdrew to St. Louis. Here he continued to rule for a number of years until he was displaced by a Spanish commander.*

Louis St. Ange de Belle Rive spent his long and arduous life for the good of his country and fellow countrymen. Fort Chartres may well glory in having him on its archives. Noble Christian gentleman and soldier, his heart filled with the loftiest patriotism and his record proving his high ideals, he was the very flower of what his country and his times could produce. He died in 1774.

Soon after British occupancy of the fort, floods carried away a

* The armament of Fort Chartres is a much disputed question.

Snyder says, "After sifting all . . . data attainable, it seems reasonably certain that the entire armament remaining at the fort at the time of surrender did not exceed six heavy (carrying nine, or twelve-pound balls), two, perhaps three four-pounders, and ten or twelve swivel guns (of one and two-inch caliber), all made of iron." *Ib.*

large part of the town at its gates and then encroached up on the fort. It seemed as if the mighty river, like Pontiac, would remain vassal to the French. As the river rose from time to time and as so much of the life had departed from New Chartres, the British did not find the place attractive.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FORT

Here is the description of the fort as given in the archives at Paris:

The fort has an arched gateway fifteen feet high; a cut stone platform above the gate, with a stair of nineteen stone steps leading to it, with a stone balustrade to support; its walls of stone eighteen feet in height, and its four bastions, each with forty-eight loop holes, eight embrasures, and a sentry box, the whole cut in stone. And within, the great store-house, ninety feet long by thirty wide, two stories high, and gabled roofed; the guard house having two rooms above for the chapel and missionary quarters; the government house 84x32 feet, with iron gates and a stone porch; a coach-house and a pigeon house adjoining, and a large stone well inside; the intendant's house of stone and iron with a portico; the two rows of barracks, each 128 feet long; the magazine 35 feet wide, 38 feet long, and 13 feet high above the ground, with a doorway of cut stone, and two doors, one of wood and one of iron; the bake house with two ovens, and a stone well in front; the prison with four cells of cut stone; and iron doors; and one large relief gate to the north; the whole enclosed in an area of more than four acres.

A British engineer describes the walls of the fort as two feet two inches thick, and the entrance is through a very handsome gate.

ABANDONMENT OF THE FORT

Owing to the distaste of the English officers for the place as a residence, and to the encroachments of the river, and because there was no longer need for the fortress as such, it was finally abandoned in 1772. After this period, each successive account of the place gives an increasingly mournful picture.

In 1802, Governor Reynolds says, "It is an object of antiquarian curiosity." In 1804, Major Stoddard, U. S. Engineers, said, "Its figure is quadrilateral, with four bastions, whole of limestone well cemented. A capacious square of barracks and a magazine are in good state of preservation." In 1817, Brackenridge, writer, says, "Fort Chartres is a noble ruin. The outward wall, magazine, and barracks are still standing.

In 1820, Beck, a publisher says, "The walls in some places are

perfect, the buildings are in ruins, except the magazine, and in the hall of one of the houses is an oak growing 18 inches in diameter." Hall says, in 1829, "It was with difficulty we found the ruins, which are covered with forest trees and dense undergrowth; bushes and vines cover the tottering walls. The buildings are all razed to the ground, but the lines of the foundations can still be traced. The large vaulted powder magazine is still preserved."

In 1788, Congress established a national park to include the fort but took no measures to preserve the buildings and they have been despoiled by vandals.

The Fort Chartres reservation was opened to entry in 1849, no provision being made to preserve the fort. Land was taken by settlers and the stones of the fortress were used for their homes.⁹

In 1854 Governor Reynolds came again and found the fort a pile of ruins, mouldering away, and the walls torn away even with the surface of the ground.¹⁰

REMAINS OF FORT CHARTRES

And now today, what remains to tell of the glory of old French days in Illinois? In old days, all roads in Illinois led to the Fort;

* After 1784, the sturdy soldiers of Col. Clark's army, with their friends and relatives, began to pour into the American bottom. Then too, the tranquil solitude of old Fort Chartres was broken. It was public property, and a great heap of finely cut and dressed stone ready at hand for the settlers for "underpinning" barns and cabins and building chimneys and outhouses.

The majestic guns were handled out in the open area of the fort and unceremoniously thrown from their carriages into the dirt, and the carriages converted into oxcarts, or wagons, for hauling away the walls and buildings. *Ib.*

⁹ Gen. Firmin A. Rosier writes, June, 1811 . . . of an expedition to Fort Chartres to carry away one of the guns to be used at a Fourth of July celebration at St. Genevieve. They selected one of the guns from the crumbling debris of the fort. It was of iron, nine feet in length and very heavy.

During the War of 1812, the Territorial Governor, Ninian Edwards, in order to protect the country from the incursions of savages in the interest and pay of the British, organized and put into the field the celebrated Rangers, and built the fort Russell near the site of the present city of Edwardsville. The Governor took his own ox-team and negro drivers, his own slaves . . . to the ruins of old Fort Chartres and there personally superintended the raising of the half-buried five old cannon, and loading them on the wagons, hauled them to Camp Russell, seventy-five miles distant.

John Reynolds, a volunteer in the Rangers, writes: "Our army was received with the honor of a salutation, booming from the Fort Chartres cannon . . . the cannon of Louis XIV of France."

now, one has to approach it across fields of grain and pastures, not even a path leading to the spot. St. Anne's and the little village have completely vanished, St. Philip's is a farm, and only St. Joseph's parish remains in all the vicinity to bear witness to the past, as it is in the latter parish that the records of the Fort have been kept until recently. As late as 1879, many precious documents were there, including the parish records of Old St. Anne's. St. Joseph's is the parish church of Prairie du Rocher, five miles from the Fort. Here also were kept three chalices, a monstrance of solid silver, old and quaint, and a tabernacle of inlaid wood, all from St. Anne's as well as a bundle of old MSS. bearing signatures of Makarty and DeVilliers.

The old magazine is standing, alone left to preserve the memory of France for ages to come. It stands within an enclosure of the S. E. bastion, with its solid stone walls four feet thick sloping upward to twelve feet from the ground, and rounded at the top. But for the iron doors, and the cut stone about the doorways, it is intact. Within, a few steps lead down to the stone floor some feet below the surface, and the interior, thirty feet square, is uninjured. The arched roof of stone is supported by the heavy walls which have a few small apertures for light and these well protected from without.¹¹ The whole fortress is traceable by grass covered ridges where were the walls, extending about 1447 feet.¹²

Entering the enclosure through the farm gate which is just where stood the old stone entrance gate, the cellars of the houses still remain visible. From this gateway, we look out over the fair domain which Boisbriant gave unto himself in a grant which we may still read in the archives. Let us stand here for a time and call up the ghosts of that far off time. Imagine the gallant company which laid the foundation stones of this fortress, their high hopes and purposes, the gay laughter, song and jest, which in France always accompanied work; here, one day, hurrying scouts, the *coureurs de bois*, some from distant Canada, some bringing news of Indian foray or of Spanish invaders; valiant leaders setting forth from the walls to carry the lilies of France to fight a wrong; colonists coming to store-house or to council chamber, dusky warriors thronging the enclosures, Chicago, Pontiac;

¹¹ The powder magazine has been entirely restored and is now in appearance as the French left it.

¹² The Department of Public Works and Buildings of the State of Illinois has restored the outlines of the old Fort and have built a low wall following the old lines. The old well has also been restored.

happy villagers at the foot of the fort, then the momentous surrender, the sad drama none understood at the time.

And as we stand here let us pay tribute to the fine souls who came to the shadow of this fort to build a civilization in the wilderness, so fine and sweet and wholesome that it shines out in these days of sordid individuality as a beacon light. Here came the scion of noble families, seeking fame and fortune in these rude surroundings, but who in the midst of all their sordid surroundings, never lost their good manners, or their faith. Their lives were perfect examples of the old community spirit of the Middle Ages. They gave the fine flavor of their courtesy to the common people and to their savage brethren. Writers of that time were always astonished at their gentle breeding and unfailing courtesy. Brave souls of a past, full of color and poetry because they would have it so! D'Artaguiette, DeVilliers, Makarty, St. Ange, Madeline Loisel, Elizabeth Moncharveaux, high ladies and brave soldiers, Chicago, Pontiac, Old Fort Chartres, Adieu!¹³

"The old Fort and a park surrounding it is now the property of the State of Illinois and under the control of the Department of Public Works and Buildings. In a letter from the Departmental Inspector we are advised that "plans are now under way by the Department of Public Works and Buildings to restore the old fortress from the native rock which is available in large quantities in the near vicinity. . . . Where this restoration has been accomplished, it will be possible for the visitors to see the ancient fortification as it existed two hundred years ago."

In this connection the following letter from Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Librarian Illinois State Historical Library, is interesting:

March 12, 1920.

"As you know, the site of Fort Chartres belongs to the State of Illinois and is under the care of the Department of Public Works and Buildings. Mr. William A. Meese, a director of the Illinois State Historical Society, who died a few weeks ago, was largely instrumental in securing the legislation which was necessary for the purchase of the site. There is also at Prairie du Rocher, an Association called the 'Fort Chartres Association.' Information about this Association can be secured from Mr. Thomas Connor of Prairie du Rocher.

The Department of Public Works has studied the matter of the construction of the old Fort most carefully and they have restored the outline of the old Fort and have built a low wall showing or indicating the outlines. Also they restored the old well and have completely restored the powder magazine.

On October 10 of last year the Illinois Society of Colonial Dames placed a bronze marker on the powder magazine, giving the important historical dates and an appropriate inscription.

Quite a number of the Society of Colonial Dames, Doctor Schmidt, Miss McIlvaine, myself and many others attended the dedication of the tablet. The

FORT CHARTRES TO BE RESTORED

But Fort Chartres is to live again. Readers of the ILLINOIS HISTORICAL REVIEW will be interested in the plans of the Department of Public Works and Buildings for the restoration of this historic structure.

Though the Fort was for long years neglected, due to the efforts of some earnest citizens of Illinois, arrangements have been made to preserve it to posterity.

Some years ago an organization was founded under the name of "Fort Chartres Association" for the purpose of preserving this historic site. A letter from Mr. Thos. J. Conner of Prairie du Rocher, Illinois, President of the Association, gives us some interesting details with reference to the work of this organization. Mr. Conner says:

The Fort Chartres Association was organized in 1913 by the Hon. William A. Meese of Moline, for the purpose of improving and aiding in the restoration of Fort Chartres. It was incorporated under the laws of the State of Illinois the same year.

The fund of \$4,000.00 which the 1913 Legislature appropriated for the purchase of the property on which Fort Chartres was located for a State park and its improvement was expended by the Fort Chartres Association under the direction of the Park Commission.

The old ruins are in the center of the ten acre block which was bought at a cost of \$1,842.92. All that part of the Park within the walls of the fort (about four acres) was, at that time, a mass of trees and underbrush. A tree, about four inches in diameter, was growing on top of the magazine. All the walls and the foundations of all the buildings were covered with soil and debris and the only monuments left to mark the site of what was once America's greatest military stronghold, were the two wells and the stone powder magazine that was being used for a pig pen. After paying for the land and the engineering there was about \$1,900.00 of the appropriation

presentation was made by Mrs. Paul Blatchford, State Regent of the Colonial Dames of Illinois, and the historical address was made by Professor C. W. Alvord.

The visiting party after having been entertained with an elaborate dinner at the hotel in Prairie du Rocher crossed the river and went to Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, where they were handsomely entertained by Father Van Tourenhout. This distinguished priest gave a very pleasant reception at his home in the evening and on the following day escorted the party on a sight-seeing trip to the most interesting places in old Ste. Genevieve.

As I have before stated, the site of Fort Chartres now belongs to the State of Illinois and will receive permanent care.

Very truly yours,

JESSIE PALMER WEBER,
Librarian, Illinois State Historical Library.

which by strict economy was stretched into uncovering the walls and the foundations of the buildings (which had been hidden for so long that people who had lived in the neighborhood of the place for many years did not know of their existence) removing an average depth of about two feet of dirt and rocks within the outer walls, gathering rocks to be used for future work on the fort and making necessary temporary repairs on the powder magazine.

In the work of excavation many graves were uncovered and a large number of cannon and musket balls, several tomahawks, a silver fork, beads, medallions and jewelry were recovered. It is to be hoped that the State will sometime erect a suitable building at the park where these and the many other interesting relics which have been gathered by the association can be seen by those visiting the fort.

As soon as this fund was used up the Association directed its efforts to securing another appropriation and the 1917 Legislature came to the rescue with the passage of a bill giving \$12,500.00 for use at Fort Chartres State Park. This fund was not applied until 1919 on account of the war. With this appropriation the walls of the fort and the foundations of the buildings were torn down and built up to an even height of eighteen inches and capped with concrete; the powder magazine was restored; the old wells were fixed up and put into service; the gate and a short section of wall on each side of it was built up to its original height of eighteen feet and the park was leveled off.

The very creditable manner in which this last appropriation was expended is due in a large measure to Thomas G. Vennum, Assistant Director of Public Works and Buildings and Edgar Martin and William J. Lindstrom of the Architectural Department. All the work has been done with a thought of the future efforts of the State to restore to its pristine glory its greatest relic of Empire and if the plans of these gentlemen are followed the citizens of Illinois may be able at some time to see Old Fort Chartres as she was when the Lilies of France waved over her.

A statement of Mr. Thomas G. Vennum of the Department of Public Works and Buildings, especially charged with the superintendence of park work, is interesting. Mr. Vennum says:

Plans are now under way by the Department of Public Works and Buildings to restore the old fortress from the native rock which is available in large quantities in the near vicinity. Crumbling walls of the second fort still remain and the ancient powder magazine remains almost intact. Reports mention the fort as the best constructed fortification in America. The masonry was so well done that the original walls are now easily traceable. Detailed information as to its construction was obtained from a variety of early reminiscences and descriptions and from the files of the French Government. When this restoration has been accomplished, it will be possible

for the visitors to see the ancient fortification as it existed two hundred years ago.

To speak with exactness, Mr. Vennum should say one hundred and seventy years ago, as it is proposed to restore the fort as it was rebuilt in 1750. The original fort of 1720 was of wood. That of 1750 of stone.

GERTRUDE CORRIGAN.

Chicago.

Illinois Catholic Historical Review

Journal of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society

617 Ashland Block, Chicago

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COMMENDATION OF MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP GEORGE W. MUNDELEIN

This publication is one we can be proud of. It is gotten up in an attractive form and its contents are interesting and instructive. I have been complimented on it and have heard it praised in many quarters. * * * The Society should receive encouragement from every source, and all who possibly can should enroll in its membership. * * * I need not add that your work has not only my blessing, it has my encouragement. It has every aid I can give it.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Preserve the Records. In almost every issue of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW we have been urging, begging and entreating our readers to get the history spirit, to read and study history, and to become apostles of transmission of history, and to these ends to preserve and put in position to be preserved important historical data.

In this propaganda we thought we were doing well, but find our efforts but feeble in comparison with a pronouncement of a schoolman and churchman of our acquaintance who, in a paper read before the College Department at the St. Louis meeting of the Catholic Educational Association in June, has said all we wished to say and said it much better than we are able.

The writer of the paper is Rev. Lawrence J. Kenny, S. J., of the St. Louis University, and the matter is so pertinent that, with the writer's consent, we here reproduce it and adopt unreservedly the sentiments expressed:

We are all historians. The Distributer of all good gifts has given to some indeed to be evangelists, to some to be apostles, to some to be prophets, that is, seers of the future; but He has given to all of us to be seers of the past, that is, historians. He has endowed all His children with the golden scroll of memory that unrolls its ever more wondrous illuminations before our vision as the years advance. From its vivid pages He would reflect into our characters that finest quality of humanity, gratitude, the test of true civilization. Our Mother, the Church, here as in all other things, continues the work of God in our training, and constitutes herself our teacher of history from the day that she gave us at the baptismal font the name of one of her hero sons or daughters, whose story she

promises to tell us, together with those of Jesus and Mary, at the budding hour of our intelligences. She is the unrivalled historian; for she has seen the past, she knows the things of value, and she is true. The man who will not develop his historic faculty is acting against the desires of the Church and contrary to the plan of God.

America is no longer a country without a past, without a history. Many of us, no doubt, knew men who had seen John Carroll and George Washington; but there is not one among us who was personally acquainted with those makers of our nation and our Church in America. They are of the past.

Spain holds the record of the period of discovery, the first chapter in the story of America. The archives of Seville are piled high with well ordered documents preserving the memory of the imperishable achievements of her conquistadors. Her labors had been well bestowed were there distilled from all those precious leaves no other attar than Charles Lummis's *Spanish Pioneers*. Such, of course, will not be the case; for American Catholic historians will some day draw from those honeycombs of Spain such fragrant recitals as will delight mankind with their beauty and their sweetness. France has treasured the most precious memoranda of the period of exploration, the second chapter of our history. She has moreover valuable matter touching on the American Revolution that has been little drawn upon. As a concrete example of the things hidden there, let me cite the account of Yorktown. How little is it known that at Yorktown on land and sea, France had 21,000 men, America had not quite 9,000! The important part of that battle was the sea fight. American historians hurry over this point, for the reason that there were no Americans at all engaged in the naval contest. I cannot pass over the fact that there were more priests at the siege of Yorktown, where American freedom was achieved, than at any other engagement on the western hemisphere; and they had a good right to be there, for the money which paid the expense of this American campaign was given by the Catholic clergy of France.

These two great seats of civilization, Spain and France, kept the early records for us. Has dependence on them weakened us? Every civilized and every semi-civilized people understand the importance of keeping records. I regret to say that we Catholics of America to-day are as a body insensible to the situation; we must needs bestir ourselves and look to the past. Fortunately a few individuals have done something. The efforts of Gilmory Shea, Hughes, Herbermann, Griffin, Flick, Middleton, Meehan, and of Engelhardt, have all had something desultory about them. But just at present there seems to be signs of an awakening, of a widespread, far-reaching movement that manifests itself in new evidences of life in the old centers of historic work, New York and Philadelphia, and in the birth of new historical magazines in Chicago and St. Louis, but principally around Dr. Guilday and his able school at the Catholic University. But as yet there is no full grown appreciation of the big truth that we must keep our records, if we would have a history. No great governments will henceforth do this work for us. It is a huge task, and no ten, no hundred shoulders can bear it alone. Accordingly let the word go forth that we must all be ready to do something ourselves if we indulge in the hope that American Catholic history is ever fully and truthfully to be told. The ordering and arranging and systematizing for preservation of the records of our Catholic deeds must be done on a national scale. All must work and work together.

The omission of our part in the story of this nation's life, unless we act at once, will not necessarily be malicious. It can easily be the mere result of human limitations. There will be such tons and tons of other records, many of them thrillingly interesting, that the most conscientious and laborious historians will be satisfied that they have done their duty and have seen everything really important on their subjects when they have gone through these enormous heaps of material. It will be unfair and cruel to accuse them of neglecting us, if we neglect ourselves. It was not owing to antipathy towards Catholics that John Paul Jones's fascinating exploits almost won for him even from great historians the title of Father of the American Navy. Only the patient accumulation of documentary evidence, as one might say, at the last moment, by the redoubtable Griffin, saved this title for John Barry to whom every honest historian must henceforth award it.

There was a meeting in this hall a few weeks ago of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. An entire session was given over to the comparison of the methods of the various commonwealths in the Valley were pursuing, chiefly in every case through the agency of the State university, of securing and preserving the records of their war work. The representative of one university counted on his legislature granting an appropriation of \$100,000 that the memory of the soldier boys of that section might be forever guarded sacredly from oblivion. Another speaker told how interest had been aroused in every nook and corner of his State by a very simple device: prominent men in each county seat were called into service, these appointed reliable persons in each township, and they in turn instructed a person in each school district to send in accounts to the university. A third speaker recounted that his school had secured copies of every species of posters, programs, announcements, and accounts of States, of the Red Cross and other such agencies, of counties, of universities, that had done anything which could be called war activity; they had surely stacked such heaps of material as no Catholic institution in America could find room to stow away. It was pleasant to note that in every paper mention was made of some special effort to obtain Catholic co-operation, Catholic reports, or Catholic data. It is perhaps more to my present purpose to call your attention to the fact that (except in one instance) these honest and generous scholars did not know how to reach us. For instance, one of them, a tireless collector, was perfectly satisfied that he would have all the Catholic data in his State because a Knight of Columbus had engaged to give him the records of the work of that order in his State. It did not occur to him that the Knights, although indeed the most important, were but one of several Catholic organizations helping the good cause.

The work of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and that of similar societies in other sections of the nation, should readily convince anyone that Americans do not live for the present alone. Historic material is being accumulated in prodigious stacks in the libraries and museums of each of the great university centers. Europe has been surpassed in this matter, as in so many others, by the young energy of American enthusiasm. But what have we Catholic Americans done?

It is far from the intention of this paper to inspire a sense of despair by magnifying the immensity of the undertaking of saving our Catholic records in this land, or by showing how puny are our facilities when compared with those

of other agencies engaged in like work. There is no place for despair for those who are engaged in God's work. He always sends help. Now help in this matter is right here at hand. We can use just such associations as I have named for the most ponderous burdens of the project. Not a few historical societies in the large cities and State capitals are eager to-day for fuller Catholic co-operation. They would be happy to save our source material and all species of memorials; and they know how to do it. For example, how pleased they would be if the churches that have made Service Flags and Service Lists would deposit these with them.

The officers of some of these societies are better aware than we ourselves seem to be of the disproportionately large part of American history that Catholics are making. He was not a Catholic who said to me: "What would art do in America without the Catholic Church?" I was surprised, for I could not think of any Catholic school of the fine arts, and of but few Catholics who had distinguished themselves in those high lines. He went on: "Your churches call for more paintings than all other sources in the United States combined; there would be scarcely enough erecting of really architectural structures in the country to keep that science alive were it not for the constant multiplication of your temples of worship; without these there would be no sculpture at all. We are the most unmusical nation that ever called itself Christian; the salvation of America musically is in the gladness of the parish schools." He was careful not to say in the music, so much as in the gladness, of the schools. Going from art to sociology, you know that it was not a Catholic, but a Protestant minister who declared very solemnly, but a short time ago, that the reason he could sleep with safety in the heart of Chicago was because the Catholic Church was there on guard.

Pardon my apparent going afield. Others have given us able papers on the method of keeping records. It would consequently seem more appropriate here to indicate the need of our doing so, and to point out that there are, as it were, stacks and bales of American Catholic history lying on the wharf exposed to the elements because there are no store-houses in which they may be stowed away. Of course I mean distinctively Catholic records.

I instanced art and sociology as bearing the impress here of Catholic life; but they are not at the inmost spring of human conduct. In and over all God's works is that true religion which continues the divine atonement and is the mercy of God. History's most delightful task should be to discover and perpetuate the memory of its manifestations. It was not a Catholic, but a scholarly American statesman, who a few years ago startled the blind delvers in depths of science with the declaration that religion is to-day the central key to the world's history. He began by saying that the whole world hangs to-day (1907) on the words of three men: Emperor William, President Roosevelt, and Pius X. The first two were great by reason of the physical force at their command, brute force; the greatness of the Pope was of a deeper nature, for it acted in the region of thought and love.

But we need not cross the seas. The Church is making history of the most wonderful kind right around and about us. You no doubt recall that Bishop Spalding a few years ago announced without fear of contradiction, and no one so far as I am aware gainsaid his word, that the development of the

Catholic school system in America was the greatest religious fact of the age. History loves facts, especially great ones. Here is the greatest. It is not far to seek; it is still with us. Catholics of America are expending every year as a voluntary tax for conscience's sake at least the equivalent of thirty-two millions of dollars (\$32,000,000). Of this sum, I hasten to say, the Sisters who do the teaching, contribute fully one-half in their sweat and their lives. This outlay would build, in one year, one of the great Cathedrals of Europe. We see that the carpenter's Son is still building in His hidden work-shop. The Ages of the Faith are not dead.

The fact just mentioned connotes many others of which record must be kept; among them this inexplicable one, that in neither branch of any one of our forty-eight State legislatures has there ever arisen a statesman among our non-Catholic leaders to raise his voice against so unfair a tax on conscience; and that our own protest against so grave an injustice—one that the imperial government of Germany or the House of Lords of England would not think of inflicting on their humblest subjects—our protest, I say, is so feeble as to indicate that we American Catholics, as a class, have not fully breathed in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, and that as a body we do not seem, under the test at least, to be red-blooded Americans.

But each of the orders is supposed, I believe, to have an historian whose duty it is to keep alive just such memories. No exhortation need be given by me to those wonderful women on gratitude towards their benefactors; nor need it be said that they can find no incentive to excellence in their vocation more compelling than the study of the virtues and trials of the saints of their own household who have fought the good fight and won the crown. Yet we find few biographies of our Sisters even in the most private collections. There should be a brief biography of every Sister—a page or two in length at least—and perhaps where they do not now exist it is not too late to have some venerable members of the communities or the older alumnae, dictate such even yet for those who are gone. That order is derelict to the sacred memory of its dead which has not preserved these precious memorials.

The Church, the enlightener of all times, has ever made it a matter of serious obligation on the bishops to keep certain valuable historical documents, and the new canon law has extended the obligation. Every pastor of souls is bound by canon 470 to keep baptismal, confirmation, and marriage records; and to send a copy of these annually to the episcopal chancery. Hitherto we were satisfied with having the original entry, but henceforth there is to be a copy of these precious records. Fire or war too often destroyed the originals in the past. Columbus might be on our altars to-day, and Mother Seton might be there to-morrow had the present new method been in vogue some years ago. Priests are obliged moreover to keep an account of their parishes. I once heard an old pastor say, with a zeal that, I imagine, approximated the cynical that whereas he had never known a shepherd of sheep who could not tell off-hand the exact number in his flock,—wethers, ewes, and lambs,—yet he had met not a few who called themselves shepherds of souls who were never able, save in a general way, to state how many souls God had committed to their care. It was doubtless for these the new canon requiring the account of the parish was enacted. It is to be hoped that

the canon legalists will not confine the meaning of the obligation to the financial status of the parish.

Here an opportunity is offered to lecture the diocesan chancellors. Every shaft of the full quiver of obloquy has been shot into their skin already to bring them to supplying the *Catholic Directory* with proper statistics. It cannot be shown that it is part of their duty to work gratis for the directory publishers, but it would be a splendid opportunity of setting us all a worthy example were they to report correctly each year the number of baptisms, marriages, and burials. As at present compiled the statistics on these vital points in that very fine publication are just not worthless. One may find that in one diocese, for instance, the birth rate is woefully low, while in another near at hand, it may reach as high as 60 per thousand, where all the babies must have been twins, except the triplets.

We must have authentic records, if we are to have that kind of knowledge which enlarges our experiences. The bishops as we saw are preserving records; the pastors of souls will henceforth keep the statistics of their flocks as never before; the various orders will preserve the biographies of their members. The *Catholic Directory* is a mine of rich information; but the greatest Catholic records in America are the files of our Catholic papers. Some of the most valuable of these are becoming extremely rare. When a publisher dies or withdraws from the field, his papers are scattered and it is possible that in many cases no complete set can be collected. It might be worth while to go into this affair more intimately and seek the remedy; but let it suffice to observe the remedy that is proving more than an experiment. The Philadelphia Historical Society has been collecting early issues for some time. Georgetown University, which fell heir to Gilmory Shea, has no doubt a fine collection; and Notre Dame, owing to the foresight of Mr. Edmunds, is another repository of these priceless sources of our history. But what are so few treasuries in so wide a country! Every Catholic institution in the land should keep at least its own diocesan publication.

Besides the diocesan and other publications, we not unseldom have commemorative volumes that are retrospective. Most of them are illustrated. many of these contain historic material of value. Nothing is more surprising than the rapidity with which an edition of some thousands of these will vanish from the face of the earth. One seeks for a copy a few years after its publication, and is fortunate indeed if he finds a few pages. Books and booklets of this sort, owing to the advertisements that crowd their pages like the pages of the popular magazines, have an appearance of cheapness, but as a fact they usually cost their writers, their editors, and their publishers no slight outlay, and they possess a corresponding value to the historian.

Then we have historic monuments -- or rather we have almost none of them, but may hope to have them some day. We have at least gravestones. These might be of historic value. but unfortunately those being put up generally to-day in America are a deception. They might almost as well be made of wax so far as keeping alive the memory of the dead is concerned. The wind and the rain erode their surface and blot out the inscription in a few years. Even an Old Mortality giving his life to renewing the inscriptions would not avail

our need, for the stones themselves fade away. It might be a praiseworthy thing for Catholics, either to revive the good customs of other lands and visit the graves on All Souls' Day, or if we are too far north, at least to enter thus far into the spirit of Memorial Day. Mural tablets on the site of famous events, and memorial plaques such as adorn European churches may also help us in happier days to come. Perhaps we may begin with rosters of the boys who fell in France. Only people as old and wise as the Romans understand the value of such articles as commemorative medals.

But not the diocesan chanceries, nor the parish registers, nor the columns of our best publications--bound as they are by the conventionalities in their selection of matter--can ever satisfactorily cover the field of history over which the genius of Catholicity hovers. Wherever God deigns to come down to earth to the hearts of men, and wherever the martyr spirit reveals itself raising men up to God, there the Catholic historian, like Jacob after his dream, must mark the spot for consecration. Neither chancery nor parish books in early Boston were lined to carry such an account as that of the whipping of young Whall, who was scourged in the public schools there into insensibility because he would not read King James's mutilated Bible; but no Catholic educational convention, no sermon of Cardinal, or encyclical of Pope gave such an impetus to the growth of the Catholic school system in America as the simple recital of that outrage when it passed on bated breath from mouth to mouth through and beyond New England.

The martyr spirit is the touchstone of our faith. It is as universal in the world to-day as the true Catholic home. Our children in the schools must be taught to recognize it. It is ever striving, like the heavenly thing it is, to conceal itself from mortal eyes. Let the children in our schools play hide and seek with it; they will find it perchance first of all in their own lives on the day they resist some powerful temptation; or maybe only after they have fallen, when they come penitently forward against ten thousand shames to break open their hearts to Christ and let the bad thing out. It was this spirit that the other day flung our Catholic youth into the nation's army almost before the call to arms was sounded. It is this spirit that must fill our Catholic homes with numerous children, fill our convents and seminaries with numerous servants of Christ. This is the victory that overcometh the world, our faith. The story of these triumphs are distinctly Catholic history. The blind earth catches but faint glimpses of their magnificent glory; heaven gladdens in their full disclosure.

Summing up, I have tried to say that passing over the Spanish discoveries and French explorations of America, we Catholics of to-day, who are one-fifth of our people, have performed our proportionate part in the making of the nation. We shared in the felling of the wilderness, the spanning of the rivers, the binding of the land with the avenues of commerce. We ate, and we hungered; we bought, and we sold; we laughed, and we wept; we warred, and we comforted the wounded and dying; we married, and we went down into the earth to mingle our dust with the soil of America. The records of these things are too multitudinous for us alone to gather and preserve. There are splendid historical societies, with which we must co-operate, that are keeping them sacredly.

But as opposed to what we eat, and buy, and wear, and the other husks of our lives, there is a power within our Catholic people, hidden down deep in the center of their souls, their religion, which is nothing else than the Spirit of the Crucified, bringing all things to Him since He has been lifted up, and it is the manifestations of this power of which we alone can and must keep the records. Whether American Catholics, as a whole, are responsive to the callings, the stirrings, of this divine influence, nothing perhaps would indicate at once so well as the birth rate, if we could only ascertain it. Yet we have on every hand such myriad hopeful manifestations of the workings of this Spirit as to indicate that He reigns among us with a supremacy rare in the annals of the world. The records of these loving manifestations must be conserved as the materials for the history of that reign.

An impression. In connection with first examination, editing, that is arranging headings, etc., and proof-reading, we have read and re-read the above from the pen of Father Kenny and have found new delights in each perusal. We do not recall such erudition couched in such fascinating language. As an experiment for the purpose of demonstrating the manner in which the article grips and then grows upon one we suggest that you try reading again.



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Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Joseph J. Thompson, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to-wit:

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